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Innovation and Spatial Dynamics**

French and Canadian Immigration in a Comparative Analysis

Daniel Chapala

daniel.chapala.860@student.lu.se

Abstract: The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) rates 28 countries according to best practice performance in areas of migration policies, placing Canada in fifth place and France in the eleventh position. This study seeks to develop and further the MIPEX framework in an economic context, through an examination of labour market integration, labour market integration and public attitudes towards immigration in France and Canada. The results of this study reflect the ratings of the MIPEX in labour market integration, while they show a greater divergence in labour market discriminatory practices as compared to the policy evaluations. Furthermore, public attitudes examined showed a greater level of favourability towards immigration in the Canadian context.

Key words: Immigration, Economic Integration, Hiring Practices, Public Attitudes, France, Canada, MIPEX

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1. Introduction

Canada and France are two prominent countries in the landscape of immigration and integration discussions. While they hold the similarity of being countries who figure amongst the highest in the numbers of immigrants they receive into their respective countries, the method by which they integrate these immigrants into their society and economy differs greatly. The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) study has undertaken an examination which seeks to rate a selection of countries according to policy performance in the area of the integration of immigrants. Through the examination of a number of criteria in a number of policy areas, the MIPEX has placed Canada as the fifth best overall performer amongst the countries examined, while France was placed in the eleventh position. Some of the key areas where the study finds a divergence in performance between the two countries are in the areas of labour market access and anti-discrimination. In addition to these main categories, the study examines public attitudes towards immigration and immigrants in the nations examined. This evaluation has provided the starting point for this study at this time.

The MIPEX study is a policy evaluation tool, which examines a number of key policy areas through a best practices and benchmark framework. As this study is focussed in the realm of economic growth, innovation and spatial dynamics, the focus will be placed on the more economically oriented elements of the comparative framework between the two countries. In particular, this study will seek to develop and further the investigation of the MIPEX by examining the economic elements of labour market access and discrimination in a comparative context. As these areas, in addition to the public perceptions dimension, are key areas of divergence in the evaluation of the two nations' performances, they provide ideal areas of focus in developing the observations of the study. For the question of labour market access, an examination will be undertaken to test labour market integration on a comparative basis through key labour market indicators for the two countries. In the area of anti-discrimination, tests of labour market discrimination in the two countries will be examined to offer a perspective of not only the policy aspects but also the reality of labour market discrimination as it materializes in the two economic contexts. Finally, the area of public perceptions towards immigration will be expanded. While the MIPEX offers a glimpse of public perceptions on the issue in each country,

this study will seek to deepen this presentation by expanding the number of sources, and also quantifying these attitudes in a comparative framework. In general, this study will seek to extend the MIPEX framework by incorporating an increased focus on economic aspects, while evaluating whether the rankings offered are harmonious with a variety of data sources presented. In addition, it will seek to present a comparative framework for the public perceptions data touched on in the MIPEX report. Through all of these steps, this study will seek to deepen and develop the conclusions offered by the MIPEX.

Methodology

This study will be divided into three main categories, examining labour market integration, labour market discrimination, and public attitudes towards immigration and immigrants in France and Canada, along with some background information profiling this history of immigration and immigration policy in the two countries. Each section will provide individual profiles of each country in the specific context, along with a comparative section. In the area on labour market integration section, data will be presented from domestic statistical sources such as the national statistical boards of the two countries (Stats Canada for the Canadian data, and the INSEE for French data). In addition to these sources, OECD data will provide a basis for a comparative examination of labour market indicators for the two countries. As the study shifts to an examination of labour market discrimination, a similar framework will be followed. Studies carried out by the International Labour Office and International Migration Programme in the French context, and by the Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Diversity in the Canadian example, will be profiled which seek to test labour market discrimination in each national context. In order to provide a comparative framework, these studies will be compared, and a further study will be presented which examines perceptions of discrimination on the part of immigrants in the two countries. Finally, the public attitudes will be tested using similar guidelines. The MIPEX offers separate single source data on public perceptions from each country (IPSOS polls for Canadian data and the Eurobarometer for French data). This study will examine a variety of public opinions sources on an individual basis for each country, as well as offering comparative studies from The Pew Global Attitudes Project, and the International Migration Review.

There are a number of challenges in constructing a comparative framework of some of the elements which are examined in this report. First of all, there have been some challenges in the area of labour market discrimination. As discrimination is something that often lurks beneath the surface of decisions and actions in a real world setting, providing clear measures of these forces can often prove to be a challenging endeavour. An attempt to solve this problem has been made by sourcing some of the most relevant and reputable studies which seek to test discrimination in the two contexts provided. In addition, in order to compare the findings of the studies, linkages have been made presenting only the most comparable of findings between the two studies. These linkages, along with the additional comparative study presented, offer one of the best possible glimpses into the nature of labour market discrimination in the two national contexts. The next series of challenges in methodology comes in the public attitudes section. Similar to the question of discrimination, gauging public attitudes can often be an inexact process. In order to overcome this uncertainty, only studies which adhere to the highest level of standards for evaluation have been presented. In addition, in an attempt to compare the two national contexts, studies have been presented which gauge the public opinions profiles according to the same criteria. This, once again, offers acceptable means of minimizing these limitations. At the same time, as is the case with all investigative data, these limitations should be considered when evaluating the scope and limitations of the study's findings.

What is the MIPEX?

The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) is a study which seeks to measure policies designed to integrate migrants in 25 EU Member States, along with three non-EU countries. The index analyses over 140 policy indicators, and organizes itself into six major policy areas: labour market access, family reunion, long-term residence, political participation, access to nationality and anti-discrimination. The study is designed whereby it assesses a best-practice benchmark for each policy area, and compares the performance of each nation according to the best practice criteria (based on EC directives, policy recommendations from research projects, and other sources) (Niessen et al, 2007, executive summary X). The undertaking is organized in cooperation with roughly 25 organizations, including universities, think-tanks, research institutes, NGO's, foundations and equality bodies (for a full list of organizations, see Annex 3

of Niessen et al, 2007), and is overseen by the British Council and Migration Policy Group (Niessen et al, 2007, Executive Summary XI).

The Index presents itself as a means “to improve migrant integration policies in Europe by providing objective, accessible and comparable data for scrutiny and debate” (Niessen et al, 2007, executive summary X). This is the role that it will provide in this study. Although the exact policy evaluations will not be examined in-depth in this study, some key points of the findings will be expanded upon in order to examine certain elements of the dynamic described in the study. Three elements of the study in particular will provide a starting point for an examination of the French and Canadian dynamic. First of all, the MIPEX rating for Labour Market Access scores Canada in fifth place at 80 points, while France arrives in 16th place with 50 points (Niessen et al, 2007, 8). This will be a point of departure to examine the dynamic of labour market integration in the two countries. A second area of comparison for the two countries lies in Anti-Discrimination policies, where Canada finds itself in third place with 85 points, and France is only shortly behind in fifth place with 81 points (Niessen et al, 2007, 18). This will be the starting point for an examination of labour market discrimination in the French and Canadian contexts. Finally, although it does not accrue a rating among the six official categories of evaluation, in each country specific evaluation a section is provided profiling public perceptions with reference to immigration issues (see Niessen et al, 2007, 37 for Canada and 73 for France). A number of the cleavages presented will provide the starting point for an examination of French and Canadian public attitudes on immigration issues in a comparative context.

2. Immigration History

Immigration History Canada

Canada has been called a nation of immigrants. Since its establishment as a colonial possession of Great Britain, after the dispossession of native peoples and conflicts with French colonial claims, immigration has been a central tenant of building the population of the country. In attempting to understand the nature of immigration in Canada, it will be an essential first step to look to the history of immigration in the country, both in terms of policy and history. Let us begin first with the raw details on the history of immigration in the nation.

Canada acquired its independence as a nation in 1867, although it remains to this day as a dominion with the Queen of England as its formal head of state. The early years of immigration were marked by entrants hailing mostly from the US and Europe, drawn by the prospects of employment and wealth creation (Boyd and Vickers, 2000, 3). At the turn of the 20th century, Canada received roughly 42,000 immigrants in 1900 alone. Within a little over ten years, these figures ballooned to over 400,000 annual immigrants in 1913 alone. With expanded industrial production, settlement of the prairie regions (central flatlands ideal for farming) and the construction of a national trans-continental railway(which was a central tenant of confederation), growing economic opportunities created both the supply and the demand for new entrants into the Canadian Diaspora. This resulted in a rapid enlargement of the Canadian population over this time period, as more than 2.9 million immigrants entered Canada, representing a nearly four hundred percent increase over the 14 year period prior to this time (Boyd and Vickers, 2000, 3). In the ten year period of 1901 to 1911, Canada's population grew by 44% solely through immigration, raising the share of immigrants as a percentage of the population from 13% to 22% over this time period. These population increases were largely felt in the newly developing areas in the west of the country, as new regions were established and settled. Men greatly outnumbered women, as recruitment campaigns sought to attract workers to fuel industries. Primarily Scottish, Welsh, and American low skilled and semi-skilled labourers were attracted to fill positions ranging from farming and agriculture to manufacturing and construction (Boyd and Vickers, 2000, 4). Slowly over the same time period, the ethnic mix of immigrants grew to include Russians, Italians, Ukrainians, Austro-Hungarians, in addition to migrants from the

Balkans and Scandinavia (Wayland, 1997, 39). This was in addition to large numbers of Chinese immigrants who were instrumental in the construction of the transcontinental railroad. Further discussion of the debates surrounding ethnicity of immigrants during this time period will be discussed in the policy history section to follow (Boyd and Vickers, 2000).

The period which encompassed the two world wars upset earlier 20th century trends in accelerating numbers of immigrants coming to Canada. Following the historic highs mentioned earlier of over 400,000 immigrants welcomed in 1913, two years later following the onset of world war one, that figure dropped to under 34,000 in 1915 (Boyd and Vickers, 2000, 6). Following the armistice which ceased hostilities among participants in world war one, and the subsequent economic boom of the 1920's, levels of immigration recovered to reach more than 150,000 new entrants to Canada annually in the last three years of the decade. But the great depression and Second World War which would mark roughly the next two decades curtailed the recovery in immigration figures. Annual figures of immigration during the 1930's and early 1940's hovered from approximately 7,600 to 27,500, figures which pale in comparison to the massive figures which marked the early parts of the century. Incidentally, the 1930's was the only decade in which Canada experienced a net migration loss, as approximately 92,000 more individuals left than entered the country from 1931-41 (Boyd and Vickers, 2000, 6). While 1900 to 1930 saw nearly 5 million immigrants to Canada, the period between 1930 and 1945 saw a mere 200,000 enter the country (Wayland, 1997, 41). During this overall time period, although the majority of immigrants still hailed from Great Britain, world events such as the wars, the Russian revolution, and the great depression, led to an influx of newcomers from Germany, Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, and Austria, depicting a demographic which saw a mere 6% of non-Europeans entering Canada (Boyd and Vickers, 2000, 7).

The conclusion of World War Two introduced a sustained boom in immigration to Canada. In the years between 1946 and 1950 alone, the 430,000 immigrants exceeded totals for the 15 prior years marked by conflict (Boyd and Vickers, 2000, 7). With the new dependents of servicemen returning from overseas, refugees and displaced people from the war, and those seeking brighter economic opportunities, immigration numbers swelled in Canada in step with the economic advantages which were growing in the wake of the catastrophic destruction of the traditional giants of European industry. This trend continued through the late 1950's when European

economies were finally showing signs of recovery and stabilization. Although the numbers did fluctuate, immigration figures for the 1950's and 60's were substantially higher than in the previous three decades, regardless of their not comparing to the massive figures of the first decade of the century. Although offset by the baby boom which proceeded from the second world war, this period saw immigration account for roughly 30% of population growth between 1951 and 1971 (Boyd and Vickers, 2000, 7). The new generation of post-war immigrants settled largely in urban areas, and reflected the changing dynamic of the economy in Canada. As the country shifted from an agriculture and resource-based economy to a manufacturing and service based mode of production, post-war immigrants supported this shift with skills adept to professional or high-skilled labour positions. This accounted for more than 50% of growth in such occupations between 1951 and 1961 (Boyd and Vickers, 2000, 7).

The 1970's saw the drafting of legislation that would seek a more equitable treatment for the diversity of individuals that would seek to enter Canada as immigrants (discussed in the following policy section). This would mark a diversification in the ethnic make-up and the qualifications which new entrants would require in order to be admitted to the country (Wayland, 1997, 45). During the first half of the 1970's, immigration accounted for roughly 38% of population growth; a figure which would rise to 50% from the period of 1986-96. The 1996 census recorded immigrant populations to be roughly 17% of the country, which was the highest proportion in over 50 years (Boyd and Vickers, 2000, 9). The ethnic make-up of immigrants shifted as well, as entrants from European countries, the United Kingdom and the U.S. were gradually replaced by increasing numbers from Asia and other continents. Figures in 1996 recorded that 48% of Canada's immigrant population originated from places other than the UK, the U.S. or Europe (Boyd and Vickers, 2000, 9). This included increasing numbers from Hong Kong, China, India, the Philippines and Sri Lanka. Now that this history of 20th century Canadian immigration has been presented, a presentation of this history in the French context will further illuminate our discussion.

Immigration History France

In presenting the history of French immigration, the roots are much deeper and long standing history in comparison with the Canadian case previously discussed. The French people represent

one of the oldest nations of people on the Western European continent, with a history of integrating foreign born peoples which dates back to the time of the early formation of nations in Europe and the fall of the Roman Empire. From its strategic position at the crossroads of many nations in Western Europe, to its language with Latin roots but named for the Gennanic people, France has been constructed with a combination of the different cultural origins upon which it has been founded (Veil, 1994, 30).

If we consider the history of the French nation in more modern times, the turbulent events of the French revolution and the Napoleonic wars caused massive upheavals in French demographics. France was the most populous country in Europe in the 18th century before the Napoleonic wars led massive emigration, primarily to the Americas (Veil, 1994, 30). This led France to promote immigration as a means of balancing population fluctuations, and largely deficiencies. With the onset of the Industrial Revolution, France welcomed large numbers of Belgians, Italians and Poles (among others) who were largely miners and labourers. Gradually, economic immigrants were joined by those seeking political refuge in the French State, including Jews from Eastern and Central Europe escaping the pogroms, Armenians fleeing the 1915 genocide, Russians fleeing the Revolution of 1917, Italians and Spaniards opposed to Fascism, and eventually Jews from Austria and Germany hoping to escape Nazi domination (Veil, 1994, 30). The demographics of France were hard hit in the early part of the twentieth century, as roughly 1.4 million men were lost, and a comparable disabled as a result of the First World War (Noiriel, 1990, cited in Collomp, 1999, 45). Records show that French population increased by a mere 2 million inhabitants between the period of 1911 and 1938 (including the roughly 1.7 million new citizens from Alsace and Lorraine alone) (Camiscioi, 2001, 595). The demographic growth of this period was largely salvaged through immigration, as the 1931 census recorded large numbers of Italians (808,000), Poles (508,000) and Spaniards (352,000) among the most numerous groups (Amar & Reberieux, 1990, cited in Camiscioi, 2001, 595). In fact, in the interwar period, roughly three quarters of all demographic growth could be attributed to immigration, amounting to roughly three million foreigners taking up residence in the country (Noiriel 1992, cited in Camiscioi, 2001, 595).

The period following the Second World War was marked by a period of much needed reconstruction and eventual economic boom. A necessary element for reconstruction was an

influx of cheap labourers willing to take on jobs which were less favoured by domestic French citizens. This sparked a great deal of immigration from the Mediterranean regions of southern Europe and North Africa (Veil, 1994. 30). This period also coincided with the decolonization movements, whereby a number of formerly subjugated peoples were seeking and establishing emancipation from their former colonial masters (including French Colonial possessions). This period, marked by noted French struggles involving the former colonies of Algeria and Vietnam, sparked successive waves of immigration of those familiar with the French language and institutional structures in their foreign incantations. This saw French immigration diversify to include areas of sub-Saharan Africa, Turkey, and specific Asian countries including a mass exodus of Vietnamese from the former colony to France following the Communist victory in 1975 (Veil, 1994. 30).

With the onset of the first OPEC crisis of the mid 1970's, France imposed limitations on the numbers of migrant workers eligible for immigration, in step with the limitations imposed by a weakening job market. This resulted in a stabilization of the numbers of immigrants which held France to an average level of about 100,000 immigrants through the mid-nineties (excluding European Community nationals) (Veil, 1994. 30). This held figures at roughly 3.5 million alien residents, or roughly 8% of the population for the decade between 1984 and 1994 (Veil, 1994. 31). Now that 20th century French immigration history has been presented, we will move on to a discussion of immigration policy history in the Canadian context.

3. Immigration Policy History

Immigration Policy History – Canada

Having presented the history of immigration in France and Canada, it is now vital to examine the policies that affected this historical evolution. Canadian immigration policy has shifted from the early stages of the nation up to the contemporary period. It will be useful to discuss the evolution of policy structure through an examination of landmark periods in recent Canadian history.

In characterizing an initial period in the formation of immigration policy, the stage which begins with the birth of the nation and ends at the onset of the First World War is an appropriate point of departure (1870-1913). As was discussed earlier, the early stages of economic development in Canada were marked by rapid economic growth which necessitated large numbers of immigration to fuel large scale building and settling projects in agriculture and industry. Initial immigration policies reflected the goals of completing the transcontinental railways, settling the west of the country and producing secondary manufactured goods (based primarily in the east) to solidify the national identity of both the economy and the country (Green & Green, 2004, 106). As was also discussed earlier, this period was marked by historically high levels of immigration into Canada, as foreigners from the U.S. and overseas flocked towards the opportunities offered by the burgeoning nation. This led to a recalibration of the policy in favour of a more selective form of immigration, in the form of the 1910 Immigration act. In wording that reflects a long begotten time in Canadian attitudes towards immigrants, the act stated in Section 38, paragraph c that “The Governor in Council may prohibit...the landing in Canada...of immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada, or of immigrants of any specified class, occupation or character” (*“An Act respecting Immigration” assented to May 4th, 1910*, quoted in Green & Green, 2004, 106). This outlined a policy which sought to recruit immigrants mainly from Great Britain, the U.S. and North-Western Europe, with the intention of fulfilling policy aims of national development, accelerating population growth rates, fulfilling economic needs, and appeasing a nativist constituency in Canada which sought new entrants of similar cultural and ethnic backgrounds (Green & Green, 2004, 107).

The period of 1919 to 1929 provides a second landmark for immigration policy in Canada. The year of 1919 marked a series of revisions to the 1910 act which sought to establish literacy requirements for any prospective immigrant, more administrative power to dictate numbers of immigrants at any one time, and the addition of the word “nationality” to the “race” requirements put forth in the original legislation (Green & Green, 1999, 428). This allowed the government to discriminate further in selecting new entrants, eventually leading them to create a list of preferred nations in which immigrants were to be recruited. “Preferred” nations included New Zealand, South Africa, Australia, the United States, The Irish Free state and Great Britain. The basic provision of these nations was characterized as “commonwealth countries with predominantly white populations” (Palmer, 1975, cited in Wayland, 1997, 40). In addition to these listed nations, prospective new entrants from northern and western Europe were effectively included in the preferred category in a de-facto manner. Immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe faced harsher restrictions, while those from the other regions of the globe required sponsorship from relatives already residing in Canada (Green & Green, 2004, 108). A key element of the policy going forward was the concept of short run absorptive capacity, which refers to the ideal rate by which the economy can provide employment to new entrants at the prevailing nominal wage (Timlin, 1951. cited in Green & Green, 2004, 109). This philosophy led to an approach whereby immigration flows were heavily dictated by variations in economic performance over time.

The next landmark period that marked the evolution of immigration policy in Canada came with the tumultuous years of conflict and upheaval surrounding the great depression and Second World War. The government of Canada responded to the catastrophic effects of the great depression (which affected Canada acutely) by placing an effective halt on the policies which had, up until then, promoted large numbers of new entrants into the country. The Order in Council PC 695 of March 21st, 1931 stated that “the landing in Canada of immigrants of all classes and occupations is hereby prohibited” except in certain exceptional cases (Green & Green, 2004, 110). The ‘exceptional’ cases included British or American citizens, wives or children under 18 of current citizens, and potential agricultural workers, but all with the caveat that they must have sufficient finances to support themselves until employment is found. One notable exception to the new guidelines applied to those of the “Asiatic race” which were not to be admitted even on the grounds of family reunion (Green & Green, 2004, 111).

With the cessation of conflict following the conclusion of the Second World War, there was yet another sea change in immigration policy in Canada. The government of Canada reverted back to some earlier principles which governed entrants. In a statement to parliament in 1947, Mackenzie King outlined a policy that would use immigration to promote population growth, fuel economic development (through improved standards of living and expanded domestic markets), correspond closely to absorptive capacity, be selective in nature, extension from national policies, and would continue to restrict Asian immigration (Green & Green, 1999, 430). King stated that “the policy of the government is to foster growth of the population of Canada by the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can be advantageously absorbed into our national economy” (McKenzie King cited in Wayland, 1997, 41). This led to a period where immigrants were closely selected based on potential economic contributions and country of origin. Even though severe restrictions were placed on wide swaths of geographic territories and economic characteristics upon which immigrants were selected, the period between 1947 and 1960 saw large numbers of unskilled immigrants entering Canada, often from Southern Europe (particularly Italy) (Green & Green, 2004, 114). This led to a major recalibration of policies which saw a shift away from country origins in immigrant profiles, towards individual profiles of potential new entrants. Gone were the biases in favour of British, American and Western European immigrants, and the restrictions on Asiatic individuals. Instead, the policy was focussed on individuals “who by reason of his education, training, skills” would have the ability to “establish himself successfully in Canada” with sufficient “means to support himself” or with “arrangements for establishment in a business, trade or profession or in agriculture” (*PC 86 Jan. 18th 1962*, quoted in Green & Green, 2004, 116). The opening up of the immigration system (with the movement away from country specific profiles) gave rise to fears that larger numbers of entrants without sufficiently specialized skills to adapt to the Canadian economy would enter the country. This led to the adoption of a system which would define immigration flows for the remainder of the century: the point system.

In 1967, the government of Canada devised a system that would rate potential new entrants on the basis of points. The system sought to gain some control over the family unification provisions established in earlier legislation, whereby those family members not included in the pool of immediate relatives (wives, children, etc) would be subject to a rating system which would evaluate their suitability for immigration based on such criteria as education, age,

language spoken, experience, and other factors (Green & Green, 2004, 117). The new legislation created three classes of immigrants in this context, those of sponsored dependants, nominated relatives and independent applicants (Green & Green 1995, 1013). Applicants who qualified in the 'nominated' and 'independent' categories were now required to fulfill a set of criteria to be granted entrance into the country. The profiles of the individuals were assessed in conjunction with geographic considerations of economic demands for the skill set which they provided. On a point scale of 100, nominated relatives required 20 to 25 points while independent applicants required 50 points to be granted entrance. The point system reflected an idea that immigration policy should be used primarily as an economic tool, closely tied to variations in the labour market and in economic performance in the country (Green & Green, 1995, 1013).

Although the point system would largely define Canadian immigration policy for the next 30 years and beyond, the Immigration Act of April 10th, 1978 provided further clarification of the goals of the policy going forward (cited in Green & Green, 1999, 432). This new policy statement came with three explicit goals, namely to aid in the reunion of close family members with Canadian residents, to honour the country's humanitarian traditions and legal requirements with respect to refugees, and finally to promote economic growth in the various regions of the country (cited in Green & Green, 2004, 121). Furthermore, the act explicitly prohibited discrimination based on ethnic or national origin, race, religion, colour or sex (Wayland, 1997, 45). These guidelines placed refugees and family members at the forefront, with the country seeking to maintain a constant level of refugees flowing into the country rather than simply on the basis of a response to crisis situations. The policy set annual levels of immigration, as well as a 15% to 20% ratio of refugees. This was a slight departure from the supremacy of economics as a determinant of immigrant flows, although policies would still reflect shifts in the business cycle and overall economic patterns (Green & Green, 2004, 121).

The policy continued to evolve alongside developments in Canadian economy and society. Reports in the mid 1980's saw a drop in fertility rates in Canada, which were not aided by low levels of immigration precipitated by the significant economic downturns associated with business cycle shifts and the global economic recession of the 1970's and early 1980's (Green & Green, 2004, 122). This led to an increase in overall immigration numbers which would culminate in massive numbers of entrants by 1993 (from 83,402 in 1985 to 250,000 in 1993)

(Green & Green, 2004, 123). The policy was also extended with the inclusion of self-employed workers and entrepreneurs to the economic class of immigrants, and with the creation of the investor class of applicants who could gain entry based on levels of investment in Canadian enterprises (Green & Green, 2004, 122). Although levels of investor class immigrants have yet to dominate overall immigration figures, the shift in policy saw the use of immigration as a means of generating capital and trade affiliations. The 1990's saw a further expansion of economic components of new entrant requirements. 1991 saw a list created of designated occupations, which gave extra points to immigrants whose skills matched gaps in the labour market. Furthermore, the immigration act of 1992 sought to decrease the family class of immigrants from 52% to 43% over three years (Green & Green, 2004, 124). 1995 saw the introduction of a proposed level of 1% of population in annual immigration, with a balanced proportion of assessed and family class immigrants and a separate allocation for humanitarian and refugee cases (Green & Green, 2004, 127). The point system was also amended, shifting away from specific occupation requirements and towards the four categories: trades, technical occupations, professionals and skilled administrators. Amendments to the point system also included an increased focus on education, language skills, and personal suitability (labour market flexibility) (Green & Green, 2004, 127). This policy shift promoted skills based recruitment, rather than simply filling gaps in labour market. The central concept is to recruit capable individuals, and then match the jobs to their skills upon arrival. The overall shift reflects the dominance of economic concerns in the Canadian immigration ethos, with the intention of balancing immigration levels with humanitarian obligations, while avoiding strain on the social services of the country. This leads to the most recent developments in Canadian Immigration and Integration policy.

Immigration Policy Canada – Recent Developments

The Official Report from the department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada outlines the protocol which governs current codes of conduct in terms of immigration policy in the country into the present day (“Facts and Figures – Immigration Overview...”, 2009). The immigration program in Canada has been based (since 2002) on the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (replacing the 1976 Immigration Act), which outlines the major policy objectives as “reuniting families, contributing to economic development and protecting refugees” (“Facts and Figures –

Immigration Overview...”, 2009, 1). This protocol divides proposed immigrants into three categories: family class (foreign nationals whom are sponsored by close relatives in Canada), economic migrants (selected based on skills or abilities that may contribute to the Canadian economy) and refugees (privately sponsored, government-assisted, landed in Canada, or dependants of refugees landed in Canada) (“Facts and Figures – Immigration Overview...”, 2009, 1). The government also reserves the right to grant citizenship to those who don’t fall into these three categories on a case by case basis, on such grounds as humanitarian, compassionate or even public policy considerations. Table 1 presents a breakdown of how this policy has materialized in terms of numbers and proportions of immigrants from each category which have been granted permanent residency in Canada since from 2003 to 2008. As we can see, the lion’s share of immigrants during this time period have been in the economic class, with family class immigrants coming in second, refugees in the third position, and the extraneous category rounding out the figures. This highlights the current Canadian policy which seeks to stress both economic concerns and familial concerns, with a recognition for allowances for humanitarian and refugee assistance.

Table 1 – Permanent Residents by Category – Canada - 2003-2008

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Family	65,112	62,261	63,361	70,508	66,232	65,567
Economic	121,046	133,748	156,312	138,252	131,244	149,072
Refugees	25,984	32,687	35,776	32,499	27,955	21,860
Others	9,206	7,129	6,792	10,384	11,323	10,744
Totals	221,348	235,825	262,241	251,643	236,754	247,243

Source: “Facts and Figures...” Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2009, 5.

Immigration Policy History France

The identity of France as country has been heavily influenced by the tradition of immigration for over a century and half. As has been discussed previously, demographic concerns over time were often met with the solution of increasing numbers of foreign entrants into the country (Peignard, 2006, 1). In addition, French immigration policy has been shaped by the response to

both economic needs, and humanitarian concerns. These themes will be developed in an examination of the ebb and flow of French immigration policy over time (Peignard, 2006. 1).

The origins of policy directions in French immigration are deeply rooted in the history of the country. France is a country that has largely embraced immigration over a long period of time. The make-up of the French populace has been coloured by the variety of peoples who have been integrated and assimilated into the population over time. One can look to the Corsicans, the Bretons or the Basques as examples of disparate peoples who were brought into the fold over the medium range history of the country (although the Basque integration still persists as a problematic element in many respects) (Geddes, 2003. 57). The policy profile has been one of a combination of national integration and assimilation (Feldblum, 1999, cited in Geddes, 2003. 57), founded on some core principles established as the building blocks of the modern French state. These include such concepts as the Rights of Man established in 1789, the indivisible nature of the republic known as Unitarism (“la republique une et indivisible”), the separation of church and state (“laicite”) and a focus on foreigners assimilating into French society with a bureaucratic structure that facilitates the process (Geddes, 2003, 57).

The late nineteenth century provided some early legislation that would affirm the policy traditions of France for the time period that would follow. The nationality law of 1889 was an important first step in naturalizing the children of foreign born parents in France. The legislation provided that all children born in France would be awarded French citizenship regardless of the origins of their parents without the need for an act of affirmation (which could take the form of an oath of loyalty in other countries) (Geddes, 2003, 57). A great deal of the migration at this time came from surrounding European countries, such as Belgium and Switzerland (French speaking nations) and later Italy, Germany and Poland (Bonnet, 1976 & Schor, 1985, cited in Hollifield, 1994, 146). Around the time of the First World War, France established a national identity card system, which has been attributed as a major step for the French bureaucracy to assert control over its immigrant populations (Noiriel, 1988, cited in Hollifield, 1994, 146).

The post-World War One period produced some challenges for the labour market in France as the devastating fighting centered in France required a strong economic recovery. Two organizations would be created that would affect French immigration policy for the decades to come. The first was a private organization entitled the General Immigration Society (SGI),

which was organized by French business interests, and sought to promote foreign labour recruitment into the French state (Hollifield, 1994, 146). The second organization was the entitled the National Alliance for Increasing the French Population, which was focussed on population issues, the family and birthrates in post-war France. These organizations actively lobbied government in order to promote policies that would be favourable to their goals of increasing immigration numbers (although towards disparate ends). The year of 1927 marked another important step in the evolution of this policy, as French naturalization laws were liberalized, facilitating the naturalization of first generation foreigners (Geddes, 2003. 57). This policy shift served to rescue large numbers of immigrants fleeing fascism in Spain, Italy, Germany and other nations (Hollifield, 1994, 148).

The onset of the Second World War, and the subsequent occupation of France by the Nazis was a dark period for the country in a plethora of ways, and the immigration situation was not spared. After the surrender of France to the Nazis, a sympathizer government was formed under Vichy to coordinate policies congruous with the principles of the ruling Nazi regime. In this context, laws were enacted which removed the rights to citizenship for Jewish members of France (Geddes, 2003. 57). Following the liberation of France from the Nazi regime, the policy was reversed and a liberal policy of French nationality was established. This policy was based on birth in the territory (*jus soli*) and ethnic or blood descent (*jus sanguinis*). Article 44 of the nationality code was passed at this time which allowed for automatic citizenship for children of foreign born parents who had lived in France for a longer period than five years. This stipulation would be tested in the decolonization debate as to the relevance of these laws for those born in France's colonial possessions (Geddes, 2003. 57).

The post World War Two period was a time of rebuilding and economic expansion in France. After the devastation of the two catastrophic wars which had affected an entire generation of French population and economy, the government was needed to provide an engine for reconstruction of the economy and society. The policy debate at this time raged between those who were more economically focussed, and those who were more concerned with demography (Geddes, 2003, 53). The economists were focussed on importing foreign labour to fill labour market shortages left by the great needs of the rebuilding process of the economy. For economists, labour market shortages could be best filled by a guest worker program.

Demographers, on the other hand, were more focussed on the demographic devastation which two wars and a great depression had wrought on the nation. These policy analysts advocated the entrance of more families who would seek long-term settlement and assimilation into French society, with the hope of recovering demographic gaps in the population (Geddes, 2003, 53). Ultimately, the economists reigned supreme in this debate, as policies going forward focussed on the recruitment of guest workers to fuel the reconstruction of France. This wave of guest workers was fuelled primarily by Southern European immigrants, rather than North African colonial citizens. Legislation of November 2nd, 1945 created new rules and new governing bodies for immigration in France. The legislation established the “Office National D’Immigration” (national immigration office), and would lead 7 years later to the establishment of the “Office Francais de Protection des Refugies et des Apatrides” (French office for the protection of refugees and stateless persons) (Geddes, 2003, 53). The legislation also separated residence permits and work permits for new immigrants. This meant that one did not require a work permit to establish residence in the French state. The concept of the protection of civil and human rights of foreigners was a deeply held notion at the conclusion of World War Two, as France quickly ratified the Geneva Convention and sought to re-establish the more open immigration policies of the interwar period (Hollifield, 1994, 148). At this point, reforms established a thriving welfare state, which would provide great benefits to new immigrants in the time to come (Ashford cited in Hollifield, 1994, 148). The combination of human, civil and social rights for foreigners would be the cornerstones of a liberalized French immigration policy going forward. This policy would combine economic outlooks, nationalist goals, along with demographic insights and political visions to form the basis for decision making (Hollifield, 1994, 148).

During the time period of reconstruction, the state maintained a fairly ‘hands off’ approach to managing the inflows of immigration into France. The process was largely overseen by the private sector, with workers being recruited from foreign territories as labour market cleavages were exposed (Hollifield, 1994, cited in Geddes, 2003, 53). This led to large numbers of migrant workers entering the country and formalizing their status after having established settlement and employment. Tolerance to this process was expressed by members of government on this issue, outlined by a statement of the Minister of State for Social Affairs in 1966, Jean Marie Jeanneney, who stated that “Illegal immigration has its uses, for if we rigidly adhere to the regulations and

international agreements we would perhaps be short of labour” (Hargreaves, 1995, cited in Geddes 2003, 53). This led to estimated figures of 90% of all immigrants being processed inside France by the late 1960’s, rather than being considered for immigration before entering the country (Geddes, 2003, 53). At this time, the administration in France also signed a number of agreements for labour recruitment with 16 countries inside and outside Europe. This was a policy to harmonize existing flows of immigration, and to continue to promote labour migration via a streamlining of nationality law (Geddes, 2003, 53).

The next major time period in the evolution of immigration policy in France surrounded the tumultuous stage of decolonization in the post-war world. As was discussed earlier, France’s vast colonial empire was dissolving in the 1950’s and 60’s, as France fought wars (i.e. Vietnam) to hold-on to colonial possessions. This period saw an influx of immigration from former French colonies particularly in Africa and Asia. Tunisia and Morocco were French protectorates until 1956, while Algeria was considered as a part of France until its independence in 1962 (Geddes, 2003, 54). Legislation in 1947 ruled that Algerians had the right to enter France freely. This led to a period where between 1946 and 1990, the proportion of European immigrants to France fell from 89% to 41% (INSEE cited in Geddes, 2003, 53). These Europeans were largely supplanted by individuals from the Maghreb, as the numbers of Algerians alone grew from 21,000 in 1946 to roughly 805,000 by 1982 (INSEE cited in Geddes, 2003, 54).

The OPEC oil crisis sent shock waves through the economies of the western world in the early 1970’s, and France was not spared the effects of this crisis. This led to an economic recession in France which, in turn, led to a policy shift in the nation. In 1974, the government of France suspended labour and family migration, although the council of state reversed the decision regarding family migration four years later as it was deemed in conflict with constitutional rights regarding family life (Geddes, 2003, 54). European community nationals seeking work, highly skilled migrants compatible with labour market needs, and asylum seekers were also largely excluded from the new restrictions. What this policy shift actually effectively accomplish, was not to stem the tide of immigrants who had been taking advantage of lax laws for arranging immigration upon arrival, but instead to allow illegal immigrants to avoid registering and live outside of the French administration. This would be a policy challenge for France going forward (Geddes, 2003, 54).

Immigration Policy France – Recent Developments

From the mid 1970's onward, France has witnessed an increasing level of polarization on the immigration issue, with the right wing becoming a champion of restrictive policies on immigration. The rise of Jean Marie Le Pen's National Front was evidence of the growing polarization of the debate, reaching a climax in 2002 when the far right leader won 17 % of the vote and forced a second-round run-off election with Jacques Chirac (Marthaler, 2008, 384). But in these same elections, another figure arose who would come to dominate the French political landscape going forward, Nicolas Sarkozy. Sarkozy was appointed Minister of the Interior by Chirac following his 2002 victory. He immediately began tackling the immigration and integration issue, with two key pieces of legislation that sought to limit illegal immigration while strengthening the cause of integration of immigrants into French society (Marthaler, 2008, 387). The first policy, (Law 2003 – 1119 of November 26th, 2003 on immigration control, the residence of aliens in France and nationality) sought to decrease illegal immigration (setting an actual target of 25,000 deportations in 2006, as compared to 10,000 in 2002) and reducing the numbers of asylum seekers (Marthaler, 2008, 387). At the same time, Sarkozy promoted policies which supported positive discrimination and the right to vote in local elections, even proposing the financing of mosques and the creating of the French Muslim Council (Marthaler, 2008, 388).

In 2005, massive rioting broke out in the suburbs of Paris following an incident where the police were pursuing two youths (of immigrant descent), when the youths hid in a power station and were electrocuted. This touched off a firestorm of rioting which brought to the surface great feelings of frustration that had been simmering in the immigrant communities for some time. This led to the second major policy initiative by Sarkozy one year later (Law 2006 – 911 of the 24th of July 2006 regarding immigration and integration) (Marthaler, 2008, 390). Sarkozy was quoted as stating that “In France, immigration retains negative connotations because it is not adequately regulated and not sufficiently linked to our economic needs, and because it is not accompanied by an ambitious integration policy” (*Sarkozy's New Year Wishes to the press, 12 January 2006*, quoted in Marthaler, 2008, 390). This policy was centred on the concept of selective immigration, based on economic requirements with a ‘skills and talents’ permit for highly skilled non-EU workers. The law sought to reduce asylum seeking and family reunification, and reversed de facto regularization of illegal immigrants after ten years of

residence in France. Sarkozy reasoned that in countries that used selective immigration, hostility towards immigrants and xenophobia were lower than in France (Marthaler, 2008, 391).

This tougher stance on immigration and integration issues, among other factors, would lead Sarkozy to victory in the French national elections of 2007. He was successful in co-opting the policies of Le Pen, leading to a greatly reduced result for the extreme right National Front (Marthaler, 2008, 392). The issue remains greatly divisive in the French policy spectrum of France today.

Table 2 presents some figures which profile how this most recent policy platform in France has registered in terms of flows of immigrants into the country. The table presents inflows of third country nationals (non-EU) into the country from 2003 to 2008. As we can see from the figures, the vast majority of immigrants to France during this time period fall in the family class. But we can also see the rise in the economic class of immigrants, from roughly 7,000 in 2003 to over 23,000 in 2008. This reflects the policy push to prioritize the economy in the discussion of values governing immigration policies over the recent past (Regnard, 2009, 21).

Table 2 – Permanent Entries of Third Country Nationals – France – 2003-2008

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Economic	7,371	7,625	9,410	10,872	17,638	23,786
Family	100,598	103,112	95,834	100,385	88,082	86,896
Visitors	7,151	5,147	4,335	4,505	4,050	3,604
Refugees	9,916	11,425	13,770	7,354	8,781	11,441
Others	11,334	14,245	12,517	11,968	10,331	10,227
Totals	136,370	141,554	135,866	135,084	128,882	135,954

Source: OFII, OFPRA, Ministry of Justice and MIINDS cited in Regnard, 2009, 21.

4. Labour Market Integration

Labour Market Integration – Canada

Labour market integration is a key indicator in assessing the effect of immigration policies on a given economy. The 2006 study examining the Canadian labour market undertaken by statistics Canada (Zietsma, 2007) offers an important set of insights in attempting to understand immigrant integration in the Canadian context. A first important indicator is the respective rates of unemployment, participation and employment which immigrants enjoy at the various stages of the integration process. These figures are presented in Table 3. If we look first to what is deemed “established immigrants” (living in Canada for 10 years or more) we can see a set of demographic figures which show very little variation to native born Canadians (Zietsma, 2007, 12). We can see that the Unemployment rate is recorded at 5.0% (4.9% for natives), the participation rate is 86.4% (87.4% for natives) and the employment rate is 82.1% (83.1% for natives). Although the rates are marginally lower for the immigrant group than those born in Canada, the difference is almost negligible. As we look to immigrant groups who have immigrated more recently, the statistics are not as favourable. If we look to the “recent immigrant” category (5-10 years), unemployment rates sit at 7.3%, participation rates sit at 81.6% and employment rates sit at 76.7% (Zietsma, 2007, 13). We can see that for those classified as very recent immigrants (5 years or less) unemployment rates are at 11.5%, participation rates are at 73.9% and employment rates are at 65.4% (Zietsma, 2007, 13). These represent grim statistics for early entrants, followed by increasingly favourable labour market integration indicators as the time since immigration increases in the Canadian labour market.

Table 3 – Labour Force Characteristics (ages 25 to 54) by type of immigrant – Canada – 2006.

	Very Recent Immigrants (5 years or less)	Recent Immigrants (5 to 10 years)	Established Immigrants (10 years or more)	Born In Canada
Unemployment Rate (%)	11.5	7.3	5.0	4.9
Participation Rate (%)	73.9	81.6	86.4	87.4
Employment rate (%)	65.4	75.7	82.1	83.1

Source: Labour Force Survey, 2006, cited in Zeitsma, 2007, 12-13.

A second layer of analysis adjusts these figures to incorporate gender differences. Table 4 presents the statistics for immigrant and native born Canadians by time of residence in Canada and gender. There are a number of key insights to be drawn from these statistics. First of all, in examining unemployment figures, the unemployment rate of 4.6% for women born in Canada is actually lower than the figures for Men born in Canada for 2006. But when we look to the immigrant statistics, although the unemployment figures are favourable for native women, foreign men who have either very recently (5 years or less) or recently immigrated (5 to 10 years) show a higher rate of unemployment than their male immigrant counterparts at 13% and 9.3% versus 10.3% and 5.5% respectively. This suggests, not only a more negative unemployment situation for female immigrants versus male immigrants for these two duration of stay periods, but also a larger disparity between unemployment distribution among native and immigrant women. If we look to employment rate statistics, we can see that native born men have a higher rate of employment than very recent immigrants, but actually fall slightly below the figures for immigrants who have stayed for 5 to 10 years. For women, although the unemployment rate is lower for native born women than for their male counterparts, this is not true in the employment rate statistics for 2006. Nevertheless, there is a trend of poorer

performance for female immigrants both compared to their male counterparts, in both figures on duration of stay as well as in their relative performance versus females born in Canada. The picture these figures present a clear performance gap in the Canadian labour market between male and female participants. While native women outperform their male counterparts in unemployment figures, their employment rate is slightly lower. Meanwhile, there is a clear gap in female and male immigrant performance, as males perform well (and even better than their native counterparts) after the 5 year adjustment period, while women lag behind (Zietsma, 2008, 18).

Table 4 – Labour Force Characteristics (ages 25 to 54) by type of Immigrant and Gender – Canada - 2006.

	Men			Women		
	Born In Canada	Very Recent Immigrants (5 years or less)	Recent Immigrants (5 to 10 years)	Born In Canada	Very Recent Immigrants (5 years or less)	Recent Immigrants (5 to 10 years)
Unemployment Rate (%)	5.2	10.3	5.5	4.6	13.0	9.3
Employment Rate (%)	86.6	77.6	87.7	79.6	54.6	64.8

Source: Labour Force Survey, 2006 cited in Zietsma, 2007, 18.

Youth labour market integration statistics provide another element of observation in the Canadian labour market. Table 5 presents figures for youth (aged 15 to 24) labour market participation divided by gender and duration of stay. These figures reflect some of the themes presented for the more aged category (outlined in table 4) along with some divergent trends. We can see that native Canadian women outperform men in terms of both unemployment rates and employment statistics. We can see a slimmer margin between unemployment rates of male immigrants as compared to native male Canadians as compared to their female counterparts. But where these figures diverge is in the recent immigrant category. While recent immigrants actually decrease the margin of difference in unemployment statistics for older men, youth men

staying 5 to 10 years in Canada actually perform worse than the very recent immigrants in unemployment. This trend is not experienced in the women category. While very recent immigrants have more than double the unemployment rate of their native counterparts, recent immigrant women perform better than both very recent female immigrants, and recent male immigrants. The statistics for employment rates show another variation as native Canadian women outperform men slightly in terms of employment rates. Very recent immigrant women perform the worst in terms of employment, both relative to native women and very recent immigrant men. Recent immigrant men perform slightly better than their very recent male counterparts (but only slightly), while recent immigrant women are the best performing immigrant group, presenting the slimmest margin with their domestic counterparts. Overall, these figures show a dire situation for very recent immigrant women, and figures that otherwise have women outperforming men in all categories. They also show a less favourable situation for recent immigrant male youths with respect to their more aged comparison group.

Table 5 – Labour force statistics for youths (aged 15 to 24) by gender and immigrant type - Canada - 2006.

	Men			Women		
	Born In Canada	Very Recent Immigrants (5 years or less)	Recent Immigrants (5 to 10 years)	Born In Canada	Very Recent Immigrants (5 years or less)	Recent Immigrants (5 to 10 years)
Unemployment Rate (%)	12.7	14.8	16.1	9.8	19.9	15.4
Employment Rate (%)	59.7	43.0	43.9	61.9	35.8	49.4

Source: Labour Force Survey 2006, cited in Zeitsma, 2007, 19.

Labour Market Integration – France

In examining the plight of immigrants in integrating into the French economy, it is first important to place the national French context in relation to the norms of its OECD counterparts. The French economy through the 2000's has been marked by a high level of unemployment in comparison to other OECD countries. This can be seen in an overall unemployment rate of 9.3% versus a 6.7% average for the entire OECD for 2005 (“Jobs For Immigrants...” OECD, 2008, 110). Also, the employment to population ratio is well below OECD averages, seeing a 63% rate in France compared to a 68% average for the OECD. This high level of unemployment affects those out of the prime working age category, as those below 25 and those between 55 and 64 have a roughly 40% participation rate in the economy. The unemployment situation is quite acute as it relates to youth, as those aged 15-24 hold a rate of unemployment of roughly 23%, which doubles the average for the OECD as a whole (“Jobs For Immigrants...” OECD, 2008, 110).

As we divide performance on the basis of gender and ethnicity, we can observe greater trends in the status of labour market integration in France. Table 6 offers some OECD statistics from 1995 until 2006 (for selected years) for unemployment rates of males and females born in France, and born abroad. If we examine the figures for male labour market participants, we can see a variable ratio for foreign to native born French of up to a 50% increase in unemployment rates for foreign born individuals. The OECD, in its evaluation, rates this ratio as “high compared to Australia, Canada and the United States” (“Jobs For Immigrants...” OECD, 2008, 111). If we look to statistics for women in the French labour force, we can see some similar trends. Over the time period in question, there is an average of a roughly 7% differential in unemployment rates for native versus foreign born French women, with foreign born women suffering the lower rates in the labour force. As we look at the trend over the years examined, while there is a decrease in overall unemployment for both categories of women in the French workforce, the unemployment rate has decreased more significantly for native born than foreign born labour market participants (“International Migration Outlook, 2008” OECD, 2008).

Table 6– Unemployment Rate, Foreign Born versus native born aged 15-64, France - 1995-2006.

	Men		Women	
	Native Born	Foreign Born	Native Born	Foreign Born
1995	9.1	16.5	13.5	19.0
2000	7.7	14.5	11.3	19.7
2005	8.1	13.3	9.2	16.5
2006	8.5	15.4	9.6	17.1

Source: “International Migration Outlook 2008” OECD, 2008.

Of course, to typify immigrants as a homogeneous group is at times overly simplistic in the case of France. There is variation in terms of the country of origin which makes up the immigrant population, and statistics on rates of employment and unemployment amongst these groups bear out these differences. Table 7 outlines pooled data for native versus foreign born males in the French economy based on country of origin. We can observe the overall employment-population ratio for native-born French men to be at 69.8, while at 66.3 for foreign-born labourers (“Jobs For Immigrants...” OECD, 2008, 131). If we break down these figures into country of origin, we see that the employment-population ratio for Portuguese immigrants is at 81.3 and for Spaniards at 71.6, both above the levels for natives. Meanwhile, Algerians hold a ratio of 59, with all other African labourers not exceeding the ratio of 69. Unemployment rates continue to tell this tale, as native-born French hold a rate of 7.3 as compared to 13.7 for foreign-born labourers. But, in detail, while rates for Spanish, Italian and Portuguese immigrants don’t exceed 5.5, Algerians and Moroccans hold a rate of 18.2. This shows a performance whereby, while Southern European immigrants show unemployment figures which are actually favourable to native French, unemployment rates amongst African immigrants are between two and three times less favourable to those of natives (“Jobs For Immigrants...” OECD, 2008, 131).

Table 7 - Employment and Unemployment figures for native versus foreign born males by country/region of origin from 2001-2005 pooled data – France.

Origin	Employment-Population ratios	Unemployment rates
Native Born	69.8	7.3
Foreign Born	66.3	13.7
Spain	71.6	5.5
Portugal	81.3	4.9
Other EU 15	71.2	6.8
Morocco	62.7	18.2
Algeria	59.0	18.2
Other Africa	69.3	10.8

Source: “Jobs For Immigrants...” OECD, 2008, 131.

A similar picture is evident for women. Table 8 presents figures of French employment and unemployment for native versus foreign born females divided by origin for 2001 to 2005 (pooled data). Employment-population ratios for native versus foreign born residents stood at 58.2 versus 47.4 for this time period. But, if we look to participants from particular origins, we can see a wide disparity in performance. Portuguese women, for instance, had a ratio of 69.3, as compared to African levels which didn’t exceed the 47.8 mark (and were lowest amongst Moroccan women at 37.0). These trends are displayed further in unemployment figures. Unemployment rates were at 9.5 for natives versus 16.4 for foreigners, but rates did not exceed 8.0 for Spanish or Portuguese women, whereas Moroccans (24.8) or Other Africans (20.9) were considerably higher. This details a situation where there is great variation not just between native and foreign born labour market participants in France, but also between different immigrants themselves based on country of origin (“Jobs For Immigrants...” OECD, 2008, 131).

Table 8 - Employment and Unemployment figures for native versus foreign born females by country/region of origin from 2001-2005 pooled data – France.

Origin	Employment-Population ratios	Unemployment rates
Native Born	58.2	9.5
Foreign Born	47.4	16.4
Spain	54.1	8.0
Portugal	69.3	7.5
Other EU 15	52.3	8.5
Morocco	37.0	24.8
Algeria	44.6	18.5
Other Africa	47.8	20.9

Source: “Jobs For Immigrants...” OECD, 2008, 131.

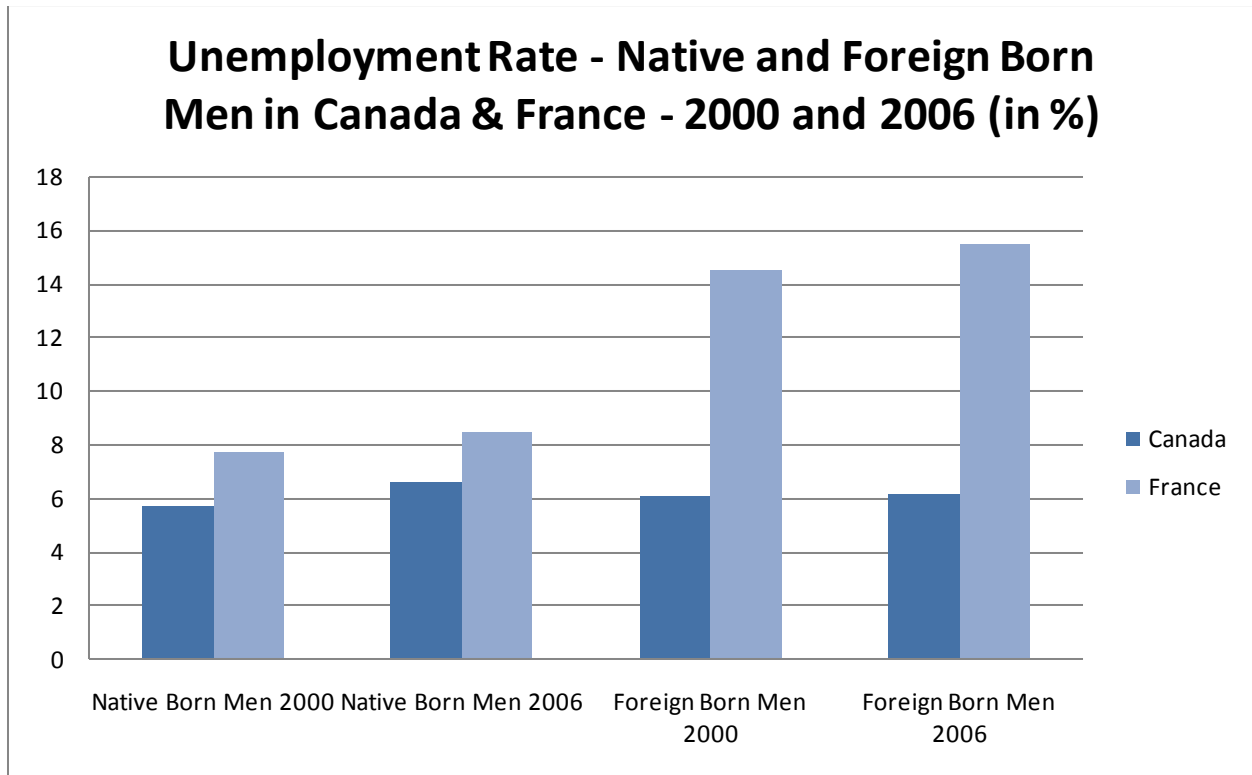
As of 2005, immigrants who arrived in the previous five years showed the highest level of unemployment and the lowest level of employment in Europe (“Jobs For Immigrants...” OECD, 2008, 130). In the French economy, immigrants with French nationality have the same relative odds of employment as natives, but this is affected by the older age distribution of immigrant groups. If a control is placed on age and educational level, the odds reduce significantly (odds ratio of 0.77) (“Jobs For Immigrants...” OECD, 2008, 134). Education levels show another nuance to integration figures, as statistics indicate that lesser educated immigrants fare better in the job market than their more educated counterparts (“Jobs For Immigrants...” OECD, 2008, 137). Employment rates for lesser educated immigrants are more comparable to those of foreign born men, where convergence is attained more quickly than those with higher levels of education. There is more of a chasm in employment ratios for educated immigrants as compared to natives.

Labour Market Integration – Franco-Canadian Comparison

Examining labour market integration statistics for France and Canada in a comparative framework will offer an excellent area for understanding the differential between the two economies. A first important set of statistics that will give us an idea of the comparative picture

of French and Canadian labour market integration is unemployment data. Figure 1 presents some unemployment statistics for France and Canada for native versus foreign born men in 2000 and 2006. The figures are placed comparatively for France in Canada for each category by year. Looking at the overall statistics, we can see that for most categories the rates of unemployment increase to a higher level in the 2006 figures compared to those of 2000. In looking at the breakdown of the figures, we can see some clear patterns. First of all, the higher level of unemployment among French native born males reflects the overall increased level of unemployment in the French economy, and increases at a rate that maintains the distribution between the native born figures compared to those of Canada (CDN 5.7% in 2000 versus 6.6% in 2006, compared to FR 7.7% in 2000 and 8.5% in 2006). But, when we observe the figures for foreign born males, we see a clear divergence. For Canada, we can see that in the 2000 figures, the rate of unemployment for native born males rests at 5.7%, while the rate for foreign born males is just slightly higher at 6.1%. As the figures progress for 2006, we see an increase of 0.9% in unemployment among native born males while there is but a 0.1% increase in unemployment among foreign born males, actually bringing the level of unemployment of natives to a higher level than that of foreign born (6.6% versus 6.2%). Looking at the relative statistics for the French economy presents a clear picture of divergence. For 2000, while unemployment rates for native born males rest at 7.7%, foreign born males reflect almost double the figure at 14.5%. As unemployment increases by 0.8% for native born males in 2006, and a full 1% for foreign born males, this gap is widened. As we look at the relative figures for foreign and native born males in the French and Canadian economies, we can see a clear picture of divergence, whereby foreign born males actually outperform natives in the 2006 figures for the Canadian economy while French foreign born males lag at almost a two to one ratio as compared to their native born counterparts. Although this presents a fairly clear picture, it would also be useful to observe these figures as they relate to the female members of the workforce (OECD Stat Extracts, 2010).

Figure 1 – Native versus foreign born unemployment rates for men in France and Canada, 2000 and 2006 (in percentage).

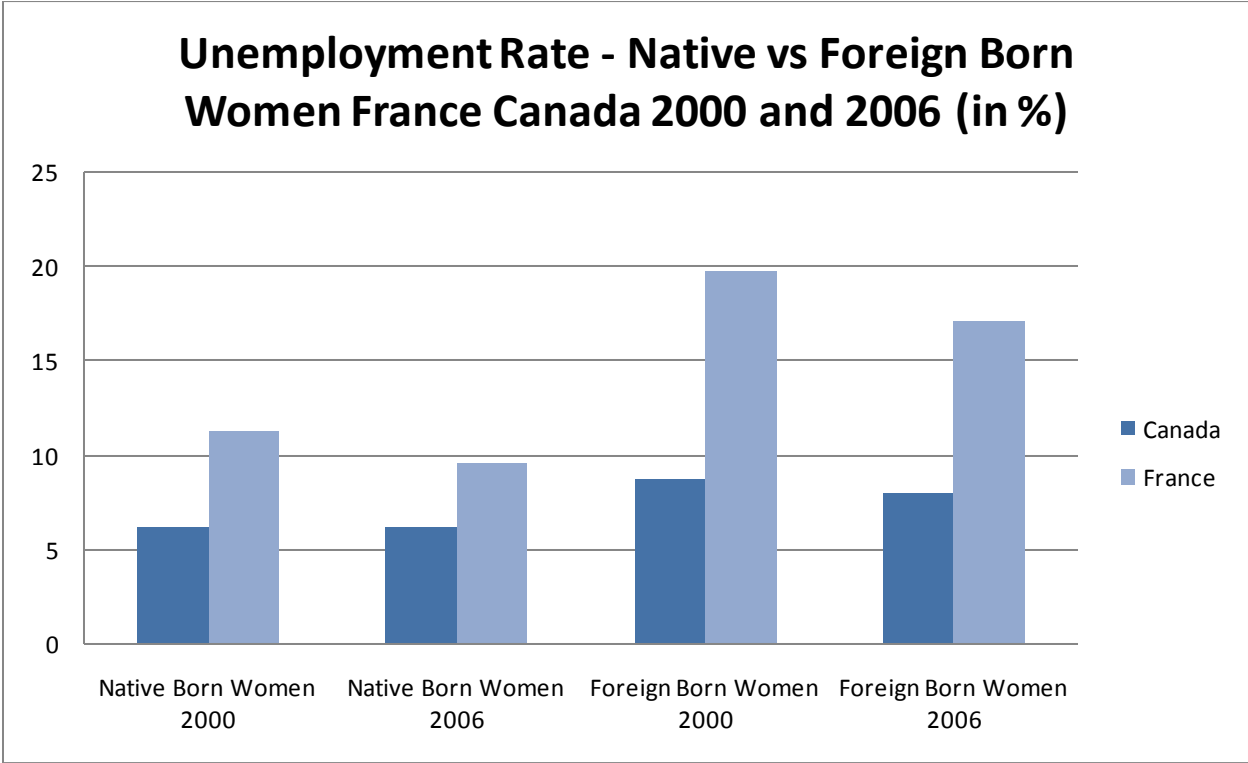


Source: OECD Stat Extracts, 2010. –<http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DatasetCode=CSP2009>

Figure 2 presents figures of unemployment for native versus foreign born women in the Canadian and French economies for 2000 and 2006. If we look first to the Canadian statistics, unemployment figures remain fairly constant between the two reference points for native females (6.2%). If we look to the statistics for foreign born Canadian women, although their fortunes do improve from 2000 to 2006 with a decrease by 0.7% unemployment (8.7% to 8%), there is still a much larger disparity between foreign born and native born females compared to the male statistics for Canada, with foreign born women faring worse by comparison. If we look to the French statistics, we see a different situation. Although the overall rate of unemployment is higher in the French economy by comparison to Canada, levels of unemployment for native born French women almost double the figures for Canadian native born at 11.3% versus 6.2% in 2000. This disparity is decreased in 2006 as unemployment lowers for French native born females to 9.6% in 2006. But looking to the numbers for native born French females, we can see

a staggering rate of 19.7% unemployment for native born French females in 2000. Although unemployment rates decrease to 17.1% for foreign born females in 2006, the disparity between statistics for foreign born and native born females is stark in comparison to the rates for the Canadian economy. As we observe the overall rates of unemployment for the French and Canadian economies over the two years in question for Men and Women, there is a clear picture of a deficiency in labour market integration for foreign born participants in the French economy by comparison to the rates and levels of the Canadian counterpart (OECD Stat Extracts, 2010).

Figure 2 – Native versus Foreign born women’s unemployment rates in Canada and France – 2000 and 2006 (in percentage).



Source: OECD Stat Extracts, 2010. - <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DatasetCode=CSP2009>

Although overall unemployment rates do give us an idea of the labour market situation between France and Canada, a look at employment figures related to levels of education can deepen the analysis. Table 9 presents employment rates by level of education for foreign born versus native born labour market participants for France and Canada in 2006. If we look to the Canadian case first, we can see that foreign born labour market participants with low education slightly

outperform their native born counterparts. As we move on, we see that medium educated native born Canadians have a higher rate of employment by over 7% compared to medium educated foreign born Canadians. Those with high levels of education narrow this gap, as there is a roughly 5% gap in employment figures for highly educated Canadians, with the native born exceeding levels for foreign born. If we look to the French statistics next, we can see a different case. Foreign born French with a low level of education also hold higher levels of employment compared to their native born counterparts, by roughly 2.5%. When we look to statistics for medium and highly educated French, we can see a more clear divergence from the Canadian case. We can see that medium and highly educated native born French hold a nearly 10% advantage in employment rates as compared to their foreign born counterparts (9.3% and 10.53% respectively). As we compare the figures for both countries, we can see clear trends. While low educated foreign born workers outperform native born low educated workers in both economies (to a slightly greater degree in the French economy), there is a higher level of disparity favouring native born workers as we move up the levels of education. In examining the comparative case, the disparity amongst highly educated native born versus foreign born French workers is much greater compared to the differences in the Canadian case (a roughly 5 point advantage for native Canadians versus a roughly 11 point advantage for French natives). This comparative analysis depicts low educated foreign born workers in France holding a greater advantage compared to the Canadian case, while their highly educated counterparts hold a greater disadvantage in the French versus Canadian case (OECD Stat Extracts, 2010).

Table 9 – Employment rates by education level for foreign born versus native born – France and Canada - 2006.

Education level	Native Born			Foreign Born		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Canada	50.55	75.47	82.72	51.55	68.94	77.37
France	46.50	69.82	79.30	49.06	60.62	68.77

Source: OECD Stat Extracts, 2010. -<http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DatasetCode=CSP2009>

Note: Education levels: “low” signifies less than upper secondary, “intermediate” signifies upper secondary and “high” indicates tertiary education. Rates are calculated as the share of people employed between the ages of 15 and 64 compared to same age range in the overall population.

In summary, the comparative case shows some marked advantages for Canadian immigrants in the labour market compared to their French counterparts. While immigrants with lower education outperform natives in the French case as compared to the Canadian example, the majority of remaining indicators in the data presented favour Canadian immigrants in the labour force.

5. Labour Market Discrimination

Labour Market Discrimination – Canada

Discrimination can generally be a challenging area of study, as it is a force that often lurks in the shadows of decisions made in a labour market environment. A study by Philip Oreopoulos (2009) attempts to overcome these challenges through its attempt to measure discrimination towards immigrants in the Canadian labour market. The study attempts to gauge hiring practices of firms seeking employees by testing a series of mock applicants who represent a variety of ethnic and immigration profiles. The study was conducted between April and November 2008 in Canada's largest urban centre, the greater Toronto area. Resumes were sent to all jobs in a variety of occupations that solicited responses via email (during the time period under investigation) that required three to seven years of experience and a minimum of an undergraduate degree (positions that demanded graduate degrees, North American education or experience, and French as a second language were omitted) (Oreopoulos, 2009, 12). The study sent four resumes to each prospective employer, (in random order) representing four groups of ethnic profiles: an English-Sounding name, Canadian experience, and Canadian undergraduate education; a foreign sounding name (Chinese, Indian or Pakistani...Canada's three largest groups of recent immigrants), Canadian experience and Canadian education; a foreign sounding name, Canadian experience and a foreign undergraduate degree; and a foreign sounding name, foreign education and some or all foreign experience. The resumes were randomized (see article for formula) for elements such as alma mater, number of languages spoken fluently, interests and activities, and additional Canadian educational achievement, while names were generated randomly from some more common examples which represent each group (i.e. Greg or Allison, Smith or Martin for English; Arjun or Shreya Singh or Sharma for Indian; Dong or Na Wang or Zhang for Chinese; and Asif or Hina Khan or Sheikh for Pakistani) (Oreopoulos, 2009, 13). The total number of resumes sent out amounted to more than six and a half thousand over the various positions and hypothetical candidates (Oreopoulos, 2009, 16).

In presenting a study of this nature, it is important to mention some limitations before presenting the results. Discrimination is not a force that is easily measured, as individuals will rarely admit to operating under discriminatory principles. In its attempt to overcome this challenge, the study

employs a formula of randomization of resume details in a measured manner to create hypothetical candidates who meet certain criteria for ethnic profiles. This is a first limitation of the study, as questions must be considered as to how effective the study is in creating purely realistic, comparable and testable candidates for examination. Secondly, questions can be asked about the conclusiveness of suppositions about discrimination in the context of the study. While results may indicate a suggestion or an inference of discrimination, some doubt must be cautioned about the reliability of stating that discrimination happened with a rate of one hundred percent conclusiveness. Furthermore, one can question the types of jobs being sought, and also whether the geographical area examined is representative of the greater Canadian labour market. Although the study endeavours to manage these limitations, elements such as these and others must be considered when considering the results.

Now that the parameters and limitations of the study have been outlined, it would be beneficial to examine the findings and results. Table 10 and Figure 3 present the findings from the study. Generally, the study presents three major conclusions about the Canadian labour market with reference to employment discrimination. First of all, it finds that applicants with English sounding names, Canadian experience and Canadian education experienced a 16% callback rate versus a 5% response rate for resumes with foreign sounding names (Indian, Chinese and Pakistani), foreign experience and foreign education (Oreopoulos, 2009, 38). This finding actually represents some correspondence to relative unemployment rates nationally in the 2000's. The second major conclusion presented by the study finds that Canadian employers place a premium on Canadian experience (outweighing Canadian education) for foreign applicants. The study found a 3% differential in favour of foreign applicants with some Canadian experience versus those that listed no domestic experience (8% versus 5%). Applicants with all work experience in Canada experienced an 11% callback rate overall, confirming the desirability of domestic experience in the study (Oreopoulos, 2009, 38). The third major finding of the study, deals with discrimination based solely on the name of the applicant. The main category of applicants which provided the baseline for the study (English-sounding names, Canadian experience and Canadian education) experienced a 15.8% callback rate. When simply the names were changed to names of Indian origin, the callback rate descended to 12.1%. That rate descended even further when the name is changed to Chinese (10.8%) or Pakistani (11.0%). This result presents a disparity which favours candidates with English sounding names in the

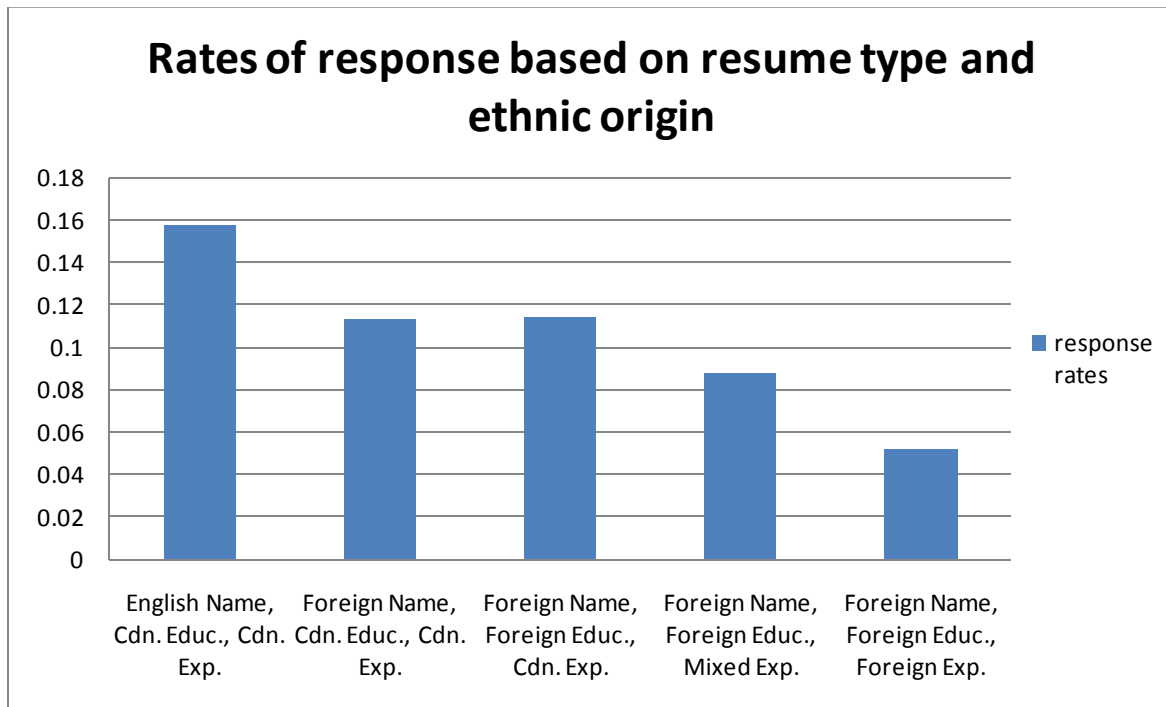
Canadian labour market, with a varying level of impediment for foreign candidates based on varying ethnic origins (Oreopoulos, 2009, 23).

Table 10 – Rates of response based on resume type and ethnic origin.

	English – Canada	India	China	Pakistan	Britain	India/China/ Pakistan
English name, Cdn Educ., Cdn Exp.	0.158					
Foreign name, Cdn Educ., Cdn Exp.		0.121	0.108	0.11	N/A	0.113
Foreign name, Foreign educ., Cdn Exp.		0.122	0.094	0.14	0.129	0.114
Foreign name, Foreign educ., Mixed Exp.		0.075	0.103	0.078	0.157	0.088
Foreign name, Foreign educ., Foreign Exp.		0.051	0.053	0.052	0.141	0.052

Source: Oreopoulos, 2009, 24.

Figure 3 – Response rates based on resume type and ethnic origin.



Source: Oreopoulos, 2009, 24.

In summary, the study finds some salient points in observing some trends in hiring practices in the Canadian labour market. Of course, the limitations of the study should be kept in consideration (mentioned earlier). With these limitations in mind, we can still see that there is evidence to suggest some bias in hiring practices in the Canadian labour market. The Canadian labour market places Canadian education and experience at a premium. Furthermore, the study suggests that simply having an English sounding name can improve the viability of a candidate in the market. This suggests that ethnic discrimination is a factor when examining Canadian labour market conditions. It would be useful to observe some comparable investigations in the French labour market at this point, to see how the overall situation compares.

Labour Market Discrimination – France

An OECD study conducted in 2008 offers great insight into the question of labour market discrimination towards immigrants seeking employment in France. The study finds that the relative odds of finding employment or conversely of being unemployed, are less favourable for the offspring of immigrants (“Jobs for Immigrants...”, OECD, 2008, 167). This is the case even after controls are set to limit effects of age, education, and even the education of parents. In these cases, language proficiencies, differences in technical skills, and educational standards and comparisons play no role, which begs the question of what factors are influencing these skewed statistics. A number of studies have attempted to examine and explain this phenomenon (cited Amadieu, 2004 and 2005, Adia, 2006, Daguet et al 2007, Cediey and Foroni, 2007). At this point, it would be helpful to examine one of these studies in depth.

The International Labour Office (ILO) has undertaken a series of studies that address the issue of labour market discrimination for those with ethnic origins in a number of countries. Cediey and Foroni (2008) provide the ILO framework to examine the French labour market, seeking to define the extent of discrimination of French citizens based on their ethnic origins. The study sought out vacancies in low-skilled and medium to low skilled jobs in restaurant and hotel sector, in commerce and sales, in community services and services to enterprises, in personal services, in transport, in public works, in social work and health, in secretarial work and reception, and in building work. Between 2005 and 2006, in the areas of Lyon, Marseille, Lille, Nantes, Strasbourg and Paris, the study submitted two applicants for each available job with similar education and training in France, but differing with respect to ethnic origins. The mock applicants were all in the 20-25 age range, and held French nationality. The applicants were differentiated by being given names that either suggested “metropolitan French” origin (ie. Marion or Julien Roche, Emilie or Jerome Moulin), or ethnic origins such as North African (Farida or Kader Larbi, Latifa or Farid Boukhrit) or Sub-Saharan (Aminata or Bakari Bongo, Binta or Kofi Traore), and these names put them into the category of either “majority applicants” (French origin) or “minority applicants” (North African or Sub-Saharan). 2,400 tests were applied (4,880 applications) to vacancy notices whereby applications were submitted on behalf of one majority and one minority applicant either by telephone, by submission of resume by

email or post, or by submission of resume in person (depending on what the advertisement called for) (Cediey and Foroni, 2008, 106).

Limitations of this study need to be considered before examining the results. First of all, the effectiveness of the simulation is the first element to consider. When the profiles of candidates are created, it must be questioned to what extent those conducting the study were able to create absolutely comparable and equitable cases for analysis. Secondly, questions can be asked regarding the age of candidates and employment opportunities sought in the study. As the experiments targets a specific range of jobs, and keeps the candidates within a certain age category, this offers a portrait of a particular segment of the employment profile of the country. Furthermore, one must consider the applicability of the regions studied to overall labour market conditions in the country. While the study does represent four urban areas of France, a question of how far reaching these areas are to the national characteristics of the French labour market may be questioned. Although the authors endeavour to overcome these limitations, all such elements must be considered when evaluating the applicability of the findings.

An examination of the results of the study provides an informative basis for examining discrimination rates in this specific context of the French labour market. Table 11 depicts the overall results at the end of the recruitment process for the study. Rigorous parameters were placed on which tests could be deemed usable, eliminating roughly half of the tests performed. As we can see from the results in Table 11 and Figure 4, the recruitment process heavily favoured those in the majority category, by more than a three to one ratio. As we can see, 70% of the majority applicants were selected, versus less than 20% of the minority candidates, with 3.5% of the jobs being offered to both and 7.5% being rejected for both categories. According to the findings of the study, 11% of employers were found to respect the equal treatment principle, offering jobs to both or rejecting both after having met the applicants. This depicts a fairly conclusive and staggering portrait of a high level of systemic discrimination within the confines of the study (Cediey and Foroni, 2008, 107).

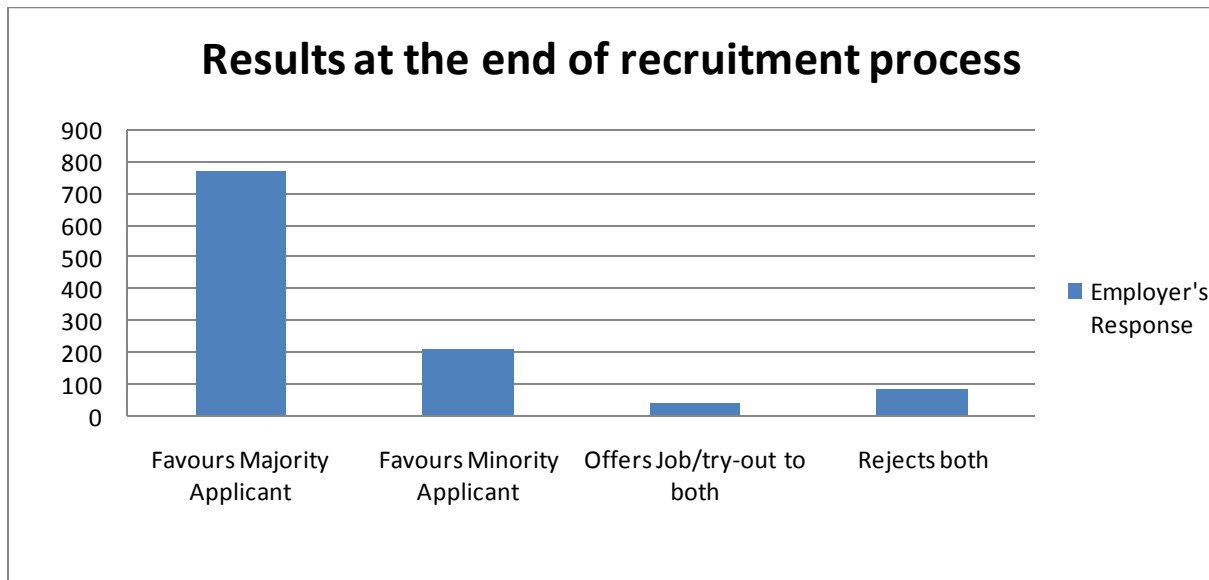
Table 11 – Results at the end of recruitment process for usable and valid tests.

Employer’s response	Number	Percentage
Favours majority applicant	770	70.0
Favours minority applicant	209	19.0
Offers try-out/job to both	38	3.5
Rejects both	83	7.5

Source: Cediey and Foroni, 2008, 107.

Note: In cases where jobs were offered/ rejected, employer met with both applicants. Rigorous limitations were placed on which tests were deemed usable. See article for parameters.

Figure 4 - Results at the end of recruitment process for usable and valid tests.



Source: Cediey and Foroni, 2008, 107.

Note: In cases where jobs were offered/ rejected, employer met with both applicants. Rigorous limitations were placed on which tests were deemed usable. See article for parameters.

The study also presents some useful statistics with reference to which stage of the process the majority of the perceived discrimination takes place. Table 12 presents some aggregate figures

depicting rates of discrimination at different stages of the recruitment process. As we can see, the vast majority of discrimination takes place at the stage of initial contact according to the study. In particular, when candidates are asked to submit a resume by mail, the majority applicant was chosen 69.6% of the time versus only 18.1% of the time for the minority applicant (resulting in the net 51.5% discrimination rate observed in table 13). As we can see, discrimination rates declined as the process progressed to the stage where standby positions were offered, and even less at the interview stage of the process. Still, in the latter two cases some level of discrimination was recorded (Cediey and Foroni, 2008, 108).

Table 12 – Net discrimination rates for different stages of recruitment and methods of contact for usable tests.

Form of Initial Contact				
Stage of Recruitment	Telephone Call	Resume by mail	Resume in person	Total
Initial Contact -				
Net Discrimination	28.5%	51.5%	26.0%	33.1%
Standby -				
Net Discrimination	12.1%	2.7%	20.0%	10.6%
Interview -				
Net Discrimination	9.5%	0.5%	2.0%	7.3%

Source: Cediey and Foroni, 2008, 108.

Note: Net discrimination rates were calculated by subtracting decisions in favour of minority applicants from decisions in favour of majority applicants (in percentages), while neutral decisions were negated.

A final area of interest in the study is the distinction placed on sectoral differences in discrimination. Table 13 presents some of the findings for discrimination rates based on sectors. As we can see, the rate of discrimination was quite high in the hotels and restaurants sector, as well as the commerce and sales sector. Generally, a lowly 10-15% promoted fair practices by either rejecting or accepting both candidates across sectors observed (Cediey and Foroni, 2008, 109).

Table 13 – Results by occupational field at the end of recruitment process.

	Hotels and Restaurants	Commerce and Sales	Other fields tested
Favoured majority applicant	69.5%	68.1%	67.3%
Favoured minority applicant	15.0%	22.1%	20.8%
Offered try-out/job to both	2.0%	2.9%	7.5%
Rejected both	13.5%	7.0%	4.4%

Source: Cediey and Foroni, 2008, 109.

Note: Results only for tests which began with telephone call. Other fields tested included: Management and administration, building and public works, personal and collective services, health and social work, and tourism and transport.

In summary, this study offers a set of useful insights into hiring practices in the French labour market. Although limitations must be considered (as were mentioned earlier), there is some salient information which can be observed from these studies, such as the fact that almost 4 out of 5 times the majority applicant was chosen over the minority candidate. This is a fairly stark picture of labour market discrimination. At this point, it would be useful to offer some comparative analysis of the Canadian and French findings in relation to labour market discrimination.

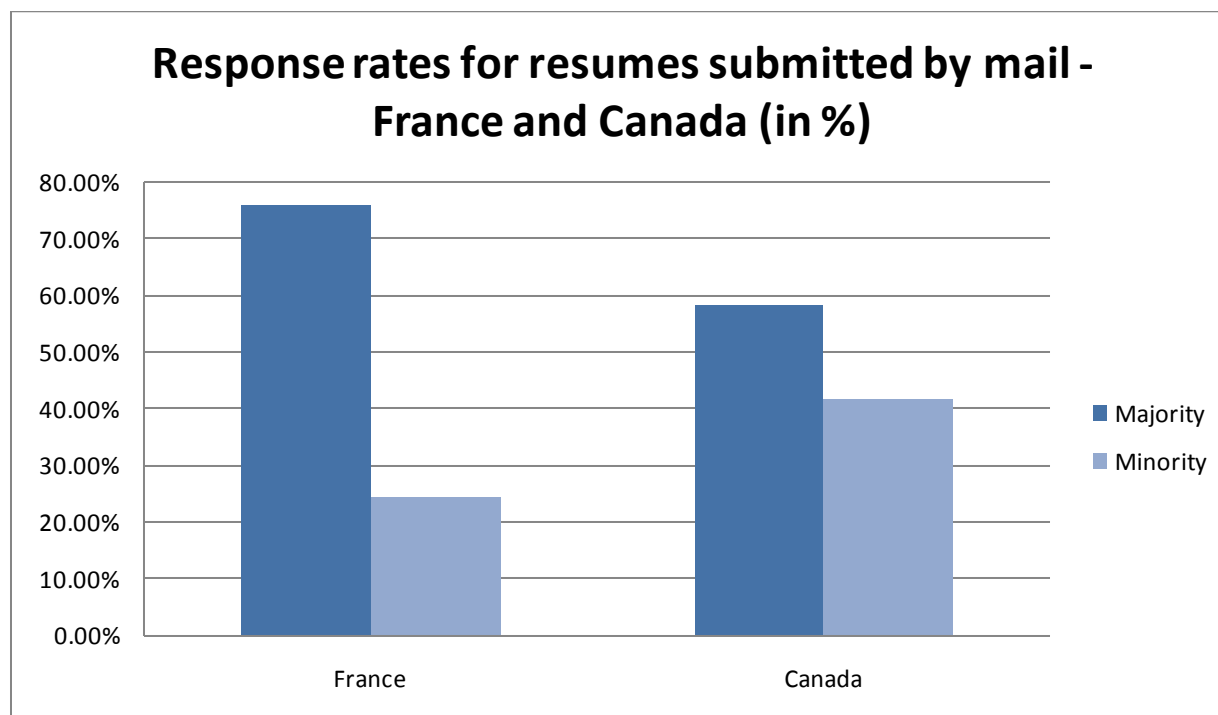
Labour Market Discrimination – Franco Canadian Comparison

Now that the respective cases have been laid out profiling studies on labour market discrimination in the French and Canadian contexts, some comparative perspectives must be presented. In attempting to parallel the two studies presented in each section, there are a number of challenges. First of all, the two studies focus on different types of employment possibilities. The Canadian study focuses solely on employment vacancies which require a higher level of experience and education, while the French study focuses on low and medium skilled

employment. Secondly, the geographical scope of the two studies differs. The French study focuses on a number of French metropolitan areas, while the Canadian study examines only Canada's largest urban center. Thirdly, the sample size and the methodology differ somewhat. The Canadian study studies simple response rates to resumes sent by mail (sending out over six thousand resumes in the process), while the French study looks at resumes submitted in person and by mail, while also conducting test interviews and phone calls (amounting to roughly 2000 tests). Finally, the French study limits the age of respondents to a fairly narrow category, while the Canadian example is less oriented towards young adults.

With all of these limitations in mind, there is still some possibility for comparison. One area that can be paralleled between the two studies, is the examination of response rates to resumes sent by mail. One section of the Canadian study seeks to profile response rates for applicants with parallel qualifications (Canadian education, Canadian experience), whose main differentiating factor is their ethnicity (signalled by ethnicity of name). In the French study, there is a record of the response rates of minority and majority candidates when resumes are submitted via mail. Figure 5 presents data for response rates to candidates when resumes were submitted by mail, with data presented in percentages (in the French case, "majority" refers to those with ethnic French names, while in the Canadian case "majority" refers to ethnic English names). The findings show that in the French case, the majority candidate was contacted in roughly 75% of the cases, while the minority candidate was contacted in 25% of the cases. By contrast, in the Canadian data although there is still a favouritism to the English names, the majority candidate is contacted roughly 58% of the time while the minority candidate is contacted roughly 42% of the time. These statistics indicate an approximate 50% difference in contacts between minority and majority candidates in France, versus a 16% gap between the two groups in the Canadian data. Although the limitations of comparing these two different studies must be held constant, this frame of comparison does present an image of labour market discrimination that presents the Canadian labour market as more favourable to those of ethnic origin.

Figure 5 – Response rates for Majority (English names in Canada and French names in France) versus Minority (Ethnic names) candidate for resumes submitted by mail – France and Canada (in %).



Source: Canadian data: Oreopoulos, 2009, 24. French data: Cediey and Foroni, 2008, 88.

Although this section seeks to profile labour market discrimination in particular, as study undertaken by Sabatier and Berry (2007) offers some context to overall perceptions of discrimination from the perspective of immigrant populations in France and Canada. The study seeks to profile the role of perceived discrimination in the adaptation of second generation immigrant youth in Canada and France. Although the study is focussed also on elements of developmental psychology, it undertakes a survey which examines perceptions of discrimination in these two disparate national contexts. The study undertakes a survey between metropolitan Paris and Montreal, to examine the perceptions of 718 adolescents (395 from France and 323 from Canada), 518 mothers (France: 292, Canada: 226) and 482 fathers (France: 270, Canada: 212) from five ethnic groups in Paris (Algerians, Antilleans, Moroccans, Portuguese, Vietnamese) and four in Canada (Greeks, Haitians, Italians, Vietnamese) (Sabatier & Berry,

2007, 167). The study undertook a rigid statistical method to tabulate and evaluate the results (see article for statistical analysis methods). The study finds that perceived levels of discrimination to be higher among immigrant groups in France than in Canada (Sabatier & Berry, 2007, 172). The study finds that this discrimination is felt more on a group basis than on an individual basis in the French context. Nevertheless, it presents a picture of a less favourable climate towards discrimination in the French context. Although not centred in a strictly economic context (as in the previous two studies mentioned), results of this study show another level of analysis profiling discrimination in the two contexts, with a general favourability in the Canadian context.

The studies presented in this section profile differing views of labour market discrimination in the French and Canadian contexts. While there are challenges to comparing the two CV studies on a level playing field, some observations can be made. Both studies find some level of discrimination in hiring practices in the national contexts under examination. While it is not possible to count the Canadian labour market as discrimination free, the levels of preference to majority candidates in the French context dwarf the findings of the Canadian study. Furthermore, the study examining perceptions of discrimination in France and Canada on a comparative level further underscores these findings, as respondents felt levels of discrimination to be higher in the French context.

6. Public Attitudes Towards Immigration

Public Attitudes Towards Immigration – Canada

Public attitudes towards immigration and immigrants are a key factor in understanding immigration dynamics in a given country. Examining these attitudes in the Canadian context will provide a first layer of understanding. The first study which sheds some light on the issue of attitudes towards immigration and immigrants in Canada is authored by Daniel Hiebert (2006). Hiebert analyzes studies by the Pew research centre (a study which will be presented in the comparative section), as well as some community based studies in urban areas of Canada and IPSOS polling data (Hiebert, 2006, 40). He cites studies that find Canada to hold among the most favourable opinions towards immigrants in the world (Hiebert, 2006, 41). The IPSOS data suggests Canada holds the most positive assessment of immigration among all respondent countries (IPSOS, 2004, cited in Hiebert, 2006, 41). Another urban study which is presented looks at attitudes in Canada's second largest immigrant centre, Vancouver. At the beginning of the 2000's, one study showed that 70% of respondents to survey inquiries felt that refugees and immigrants have a positive impact on Canada, while 80% believed that immigration strengthens Canadian culture (Hiebert 2003, cited in Hiebert, 2006, 41).

A second group of authors also shed light on overriding public opinions towards immigration and immigrants in Canada. Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) undertook a comparative study of views on immigration and immigrants in the US and Canada in the wake of the September 11th, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center. Their research relies mainly on Environics polling data (Esses et al, 2002, 72). A first opinion data point offered in the piece presents a study undertaken by Environics in the year 2000 regarding opinions towards immigration in Canada. The study found that 54% of respondents disagreed with the opinion that the level of immigration in Canada was too high (Environics, 2000 cited in Esses et al, 2002, 72). This was recorded as the highest level of disagreement with this statement since the organization began polling this question in the late 1970's. Although levels of opposition to immigration recorded a high-point during the 1990's in the Canadian context corresponding to the economic recession of

the time, decreases have been recorded in these types of opposition opinions since. The study of 2000 found that 93% of respondents rejected the concept that non-White immigrants should be restricted from immigrating to Canada (Environics, 2000 cited in Esses et al, 2002, 72). This presents some fairly stringent pro-immigration attitudes in the Canadian public, on both a relative and absolute scale (Environics, 2000, cited in Esses et al, 2002, 72).

In her article examining views on immigration in Canada, Marlene Mulder (2005) presents a picture of the evolution of views on the subject over time by referencing a variety of previous studies on the subject. The first of these studies examines public opinion polls from World War II until 1975 (Tienhaara, 1975, cited in Mulder, 2005, 423). This study found Canadians to hold generally positive views towards immigration. At the same time, it was determined in the study that economic conditions heavily effected views on the subject, positive economic performance tended to have a positive effect on views towards immigration, and vice versa (Tienhaara, 1975, cited in Mulder, 2005, 423). Furthermore, the study found views to also be affected by income level and education, as well as by time and space. Regions of the country which had at one time strongly supported or opposed immigration changed over time in the study (Tienhaara, 1975, cited in Mulder, 2005, 424).

A second study presented by Mulder which examines this issue, is that of Breton, Reitz and Valentine (1980, cited in Mulder, 2005, 424). This group of authors presented the conclusion that while racism had become increasingly unacceptable in Canada, that these types of views were more prevalent amongst older people, the less educated and housewives (Breton et al, 1980, 354, cited in Mulder, 2005, 424). Also, there was some evidence to suggest that certain ethnic groups had greater success in certain regions of Canada than in others (such as Italians in Eastern Canada, or Germans or Ukrainians in the West).

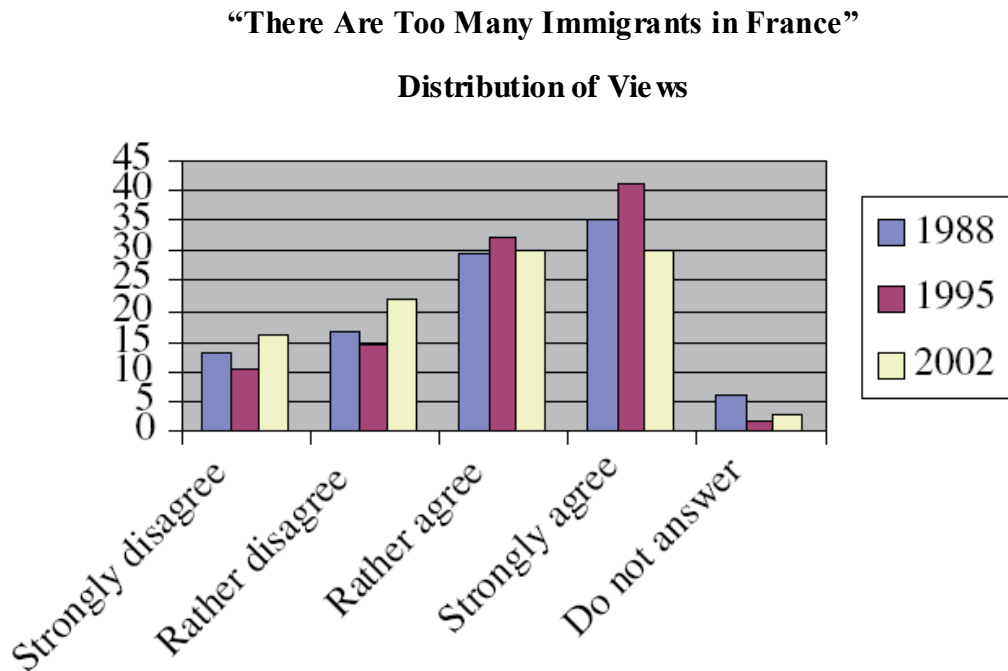
Public Attitudes Towards Immigration – France

Now that a background case has been presented, outlining some key threads in public attitudes towards immigration in Canada, it would be useful to underline some key elements of public attitudes on this issue in the French context. There are a number of studies which seek to profile the French dynamic of public attitudes towards immigration and immigrants. A first study which presents a view of the dynamic of public attitudes towards immigration in France, come from

Roemer and Van der Straeten (2005). This study was conducted in the wake of what was a startling election result for those not intimately familiar with trends in public opinions towards the immigrant question in France. What startled these outside observers was the ability of a far right candidate, Jean-Marie Le Pen and his party the Front National to gain a run-off election showdown with incumbent president Jacques Chirac, based largely on a platform of xenophobia and ultra nationalism (Roemer & Van der Straeten, 2005, 96). The study seeks to dissect the evolution of anti-immigration sentiments in the French populace by analysis of post-electoral survey data from 1988 and 1995, along with the French Electoral Panel of 2002 (for a complete breakdown of the criteria in the survey along with dynamics and analysis, see Roemer & Van der Straeten, 2005, 98).

A first question which provides some clear evidence for these sentiments in France, is offered when respondents are asked whether or not they agree with the statement that “there are too many immigrants in France” (Roemer & Van der Straeten, 2005, 112). Figure 6 offers the results to this question. When respondents are asked to categorize their responses according to a spectrum from strongly disagreeing to strongly agreeing (in addition to not answering), it is clear that the majority of respondents fall into either the rather agree to strongly agree category, with the “strongly agree” category receiving the highest proportion of responses for two of the three time periods (1988 and 1995) while being relatively equal with the “rather agree” category for the 2002 time period (Roemer & Van der Straeten, 2005, 113). Although negative sentiments on this issue seem to apex in the 1995 input, they still remain quite high for the 2002 results, and show an overall dissatisfaction on the part of the public with this issue.

Figure 6 – Responses to question “There Are Too Many Immigrants in France” (in %)

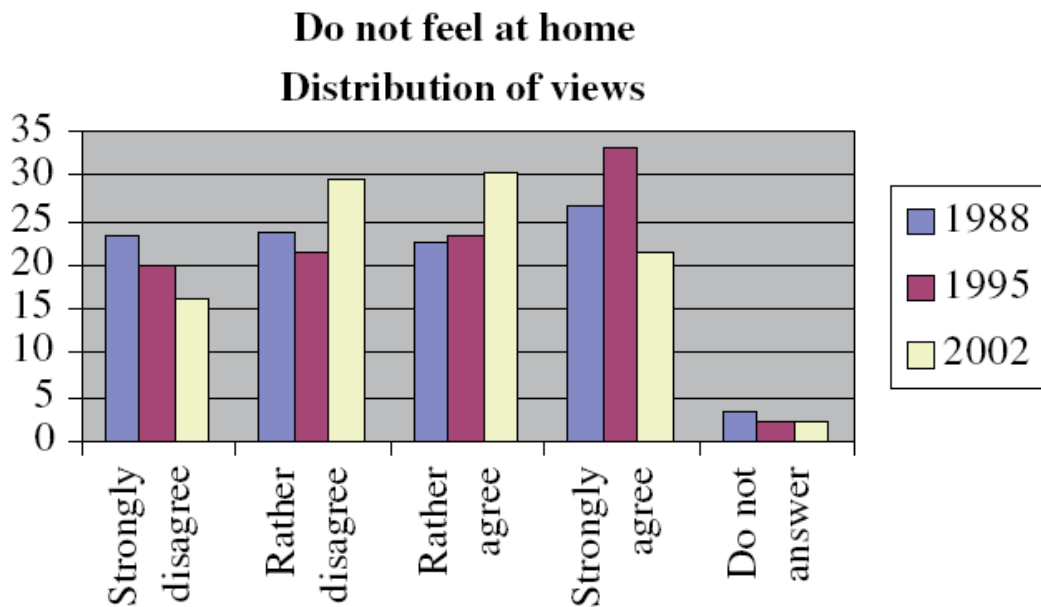


Source: Roemer & Straeten, 2005, 113.

The survey attempts to profile another aspect of French attitudes on this matter by asking the question of how much respondents agree with the question that “Nowadays we do not feel as much at home as we used to” (Roemer & Van der Straeten, 2005, 112). Once again the criteria are presented for respondents to range from strongly disagreeing with the statement, to strongly agreeing (also with the option to not answer). Although the results for this question are not as decisive as the previous question in terms of presenting an overall picture of dissatisfaction, there are still some salient trends. We can see that for the 1988 and 1995 periods, the ‘strongly agree’ category receives the highest proportion of responses in the survey (see Fig. 7) (Roemer & Van der Straeten, 2005, 113). For 2002, the ‘rather agree’ response receives a marginally higher proportion of the voting than the ‘rather disagree’ response, with the ‘strongly agree’ category coming in third (Roemer & Van der Straeten, 2005, 113). This shows once again an apex of dissatisfaction on this issue for the 1995 period, but nevertheless an overall displeasure with the

dynamics of immigration issues in terms of public sentiment for the French populace over this time period.

Figure 7 – Responses to question “Nowadays we do not feel as much at home as we used to” (in %)



Source: Roemer & Straeten, 2005, 113.

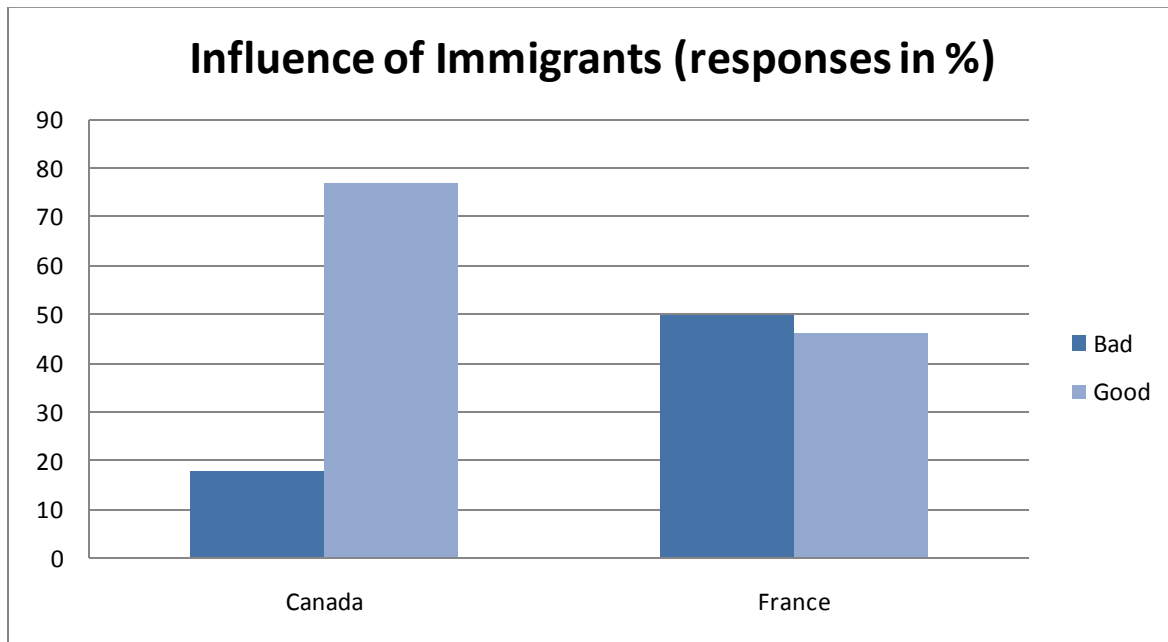
Public Attitudes in a Comparative Analysis – France & Canada

There have been a number of studies which attempt to profile public opinions on this issue which have incorporated France and Canada into their dataset. The first investigation which will provide a basis for comparison of the Franco-Canadian public opinion dynamic on this issue has been undertaken by the Pew Global Attitudes Project (2002, 2007). The Pew Global Attitudes Project is a study which seeks to gauge public opinion on a wide variety of issues, in a wide variety of countries spanning the globe. Since its inception in 2001, the project has released a upwards of 19 reports, surveying more than 40 000 individuals in over 40 countries (numbers vary according to report) (The Pew Global Attitudes Project, 2007, 9...referred to henceforth as Pew, 2007). The two reports which will be relevant for this examination, are the study of

Summer 2002, which interviewed 38,263 individuals in 44 countries, and the Spring 2007 report, which examined 45,239 individuals in 47 countries (including the Palestinian territories). The project is headed by an advisory board of a number of prominent heads, or former heads of state, including such notable individuals as Madeleine K. Albright (former US secretary of state under Bill Clinton), Queen Noor (of Jordan), Desmond M. Tutu (of South Africa), Henry Kissinger (former US secretary of State), among many other international dignitaries. The sample size for the first report used (2002) is 500 interviews for Canada, and 507 for France, while in the second report used (2007), the sample size grows to 1,004 individuals interviewed for each nation.

The first study provides an earlier picture of the difference in public attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. The study investigates a number of different approaches to gauging public opinion on this issue. The first looks at the influence which immigrants have on the society in question. The study finds that “[o]nly in Canada does a strong majority of the population have a positive view of immigrants” (Pew, 2002, 43). The results, presented in Figure 8 offers a picture of the results in the Canadian context, with 77% of respondents stating that immigrants have a positive effect, while only 18% presented a negative opinion (Pew, 2002, 44). Figure 8 also presents the French results, showing that only 46% of respondents feel that immigrants have a positive influence, while 50% feel the influence is negative (Pew, 2002, 44). This is not the only indicator which shows the difference between the two nations on this issue.

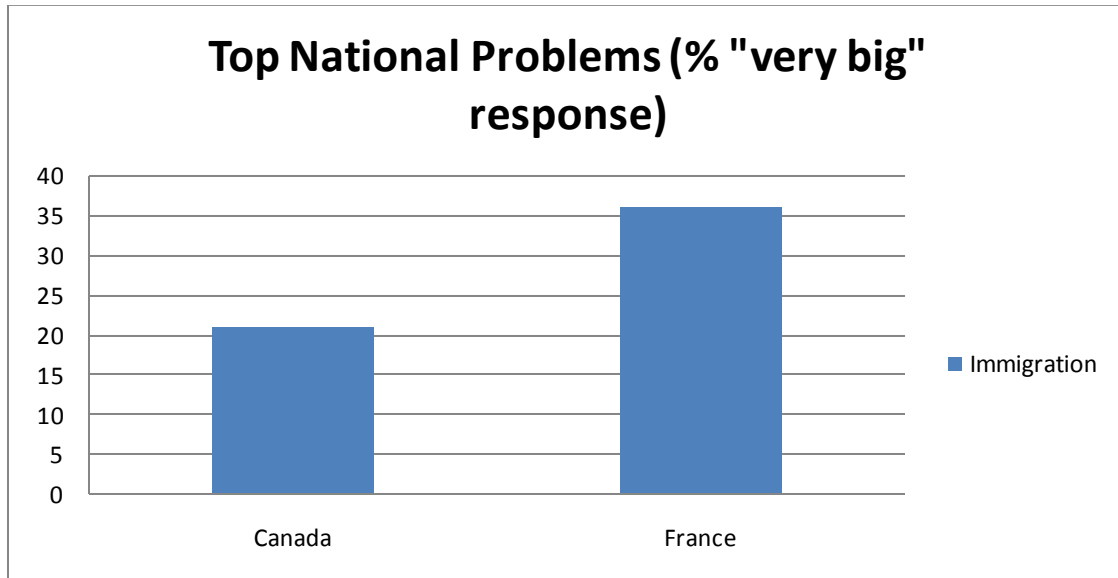
Figure 8 – Responses in percentage to the question of “Influence of Immigrants”



Source: Pew, 2002, 44.

A second category of the survey deals with domestic concerns respondents have with respect to their country’s situation. In attempting to gauge these concerns, the study asks respondents to rate problems ranging from crime, to AIDS, to political corruption, to terrorism, and beyond. Included in these inputs is the question of immigration. The responses to this question provide another telling difference in the Franco-Canadian comparison of public attitudes on this issue. Figure 9 presents the findings on this issue. When looking to the case of Canada, those that rated the issue of immigration as a “very big” problem amounted to 21% of those surveyed (Pew, 2002, 32). When comparing these responses to those of the French public, we can see that 36% of those surveyed felt that immigration was a “very big” problem in their country. This further offers a picture where public opinion with regards to immigration is substantially more favourable in Canada than in France.

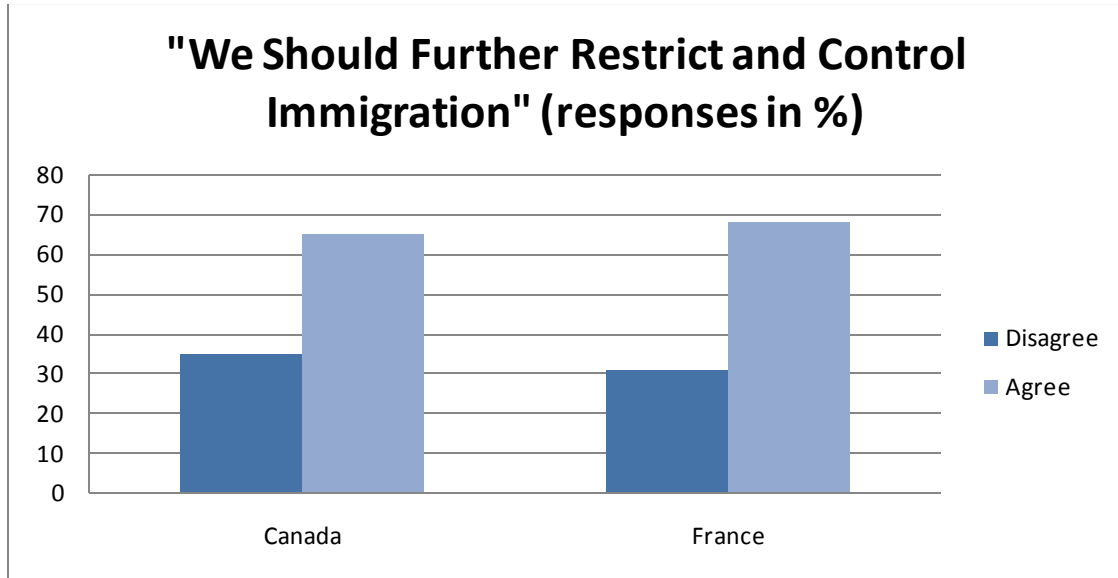
Figure 9 – Percentage that responded that Immigration is a “very big” national problem.



Source: Pew, 2002, 32.

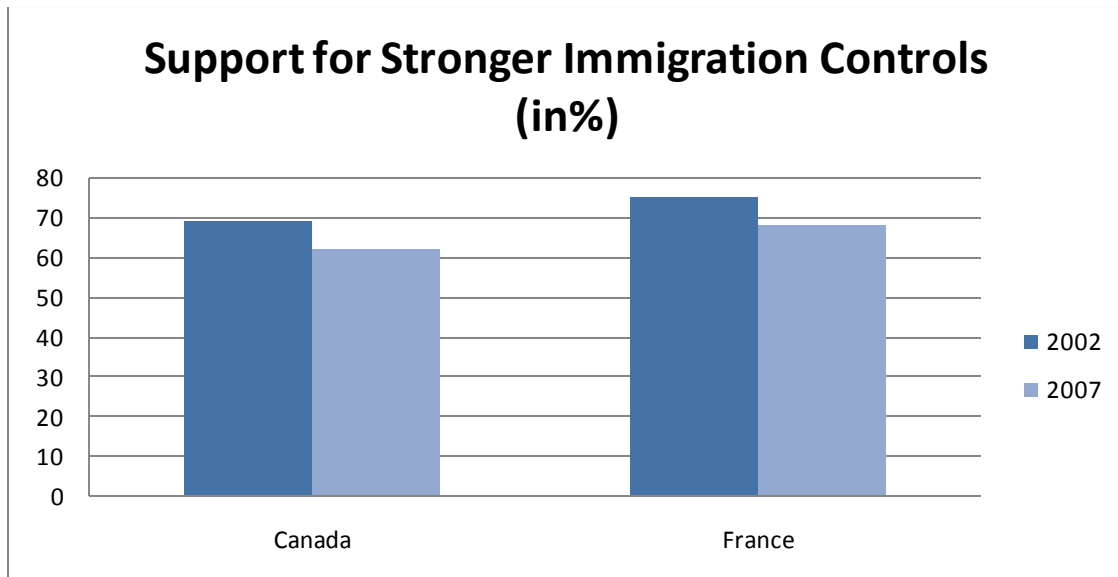
The 2007 version of the Pew Global Attitudes Project also offers some key insights into the comparative dynamic of France and Canada on this issue. The study seeks to examine further viewpoints towards immigration in the selected countries. Figure 10 presents the findings with response to the question of whether or not there should be further restrictions placed on immigration. Although the results are not as stark as the previous inputs, we can still see a marginally higher desire to place further controls on immigration in France than we do in Canada (Pew, 2007, 25). Figure 11 presents the comparison of these inputs between the 2002 and 2007 time periods. We can see a comparable decline in the percentage points favouring a higher restriction in immigration between France and Canada, but we still observe an overall higher level of desire for stricter controls in France (Pew, 2007, 26).

Figure 10 – Responses in percentage to question: “We should further restrict and control immigration” – France and Canada



Source: Pew, 2007, 25.

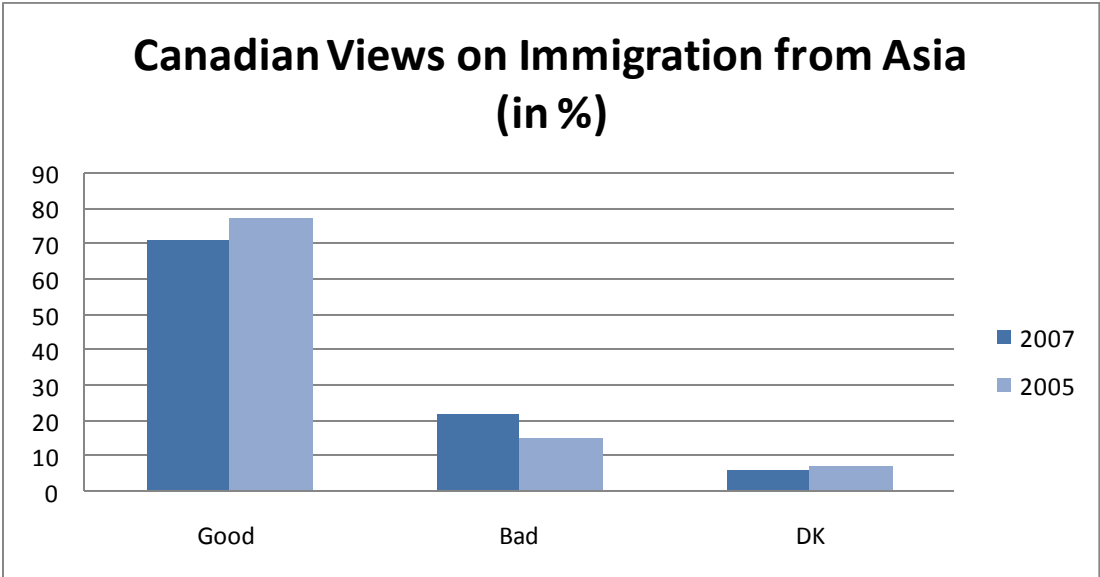
Figure 11 – Responses in percentage that support stronger immigration controls - France and Canada – 2002 and 2007.



Source: Pew, 2007, 26.

The Pew study of 2007 also provides some further depth with respect to attitudes and views on specific groups entering each country. Although the overall view of immigrants is an important measurement, a breakdown of views on different ethnic groups provides context to these views in some more specific situations. In Canada, two prominent groups of immigrants include Asians and Latin Americans. The Pew research sought to profile public views on each of these groups. Figure 12 provides an image of how Canadians view immigrants from Asia between the 2005 and 2007 versions of the study. As can be observed, the overall perceptions are good, with a slight decline in the latter study, but with levels of positive reaction still above 60% in each response set (Pew, 2007, 29). We can see similar results when we look to Canadian’s perceptions of Latin American immigrants. Figure 13 presents a similar image of an overwhelmingly positive response on the part of Canadians to immigrants from this area, once again with some variance between the 2005 and 2007 versions of the study.

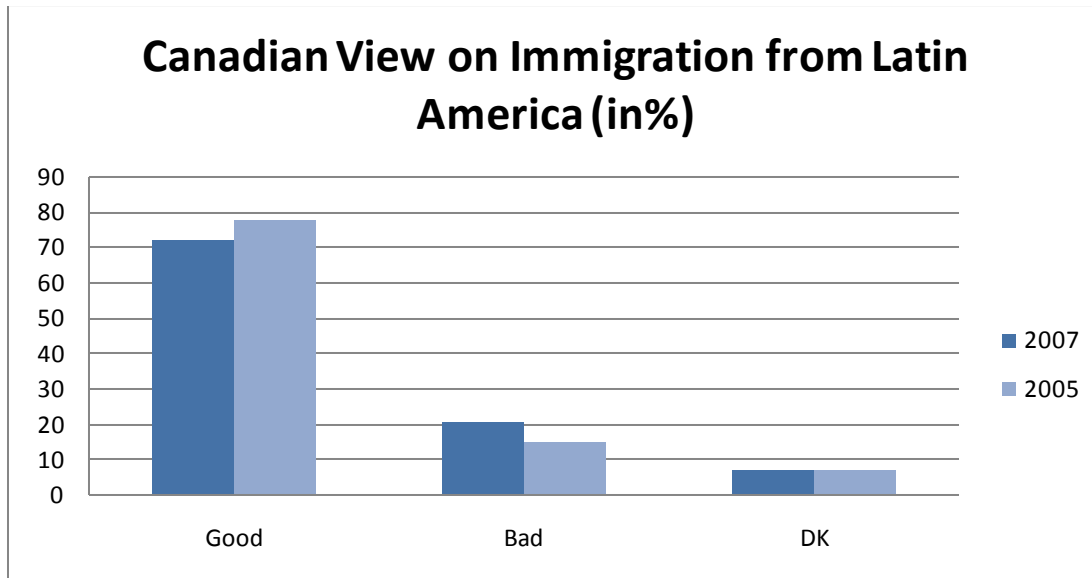
Figure 12 – Canadian responses in percentage to views on immigration from Asia.



Source: Pew 2007, 29.

Note: “DK” signifies Doesn’t Know in Figures 13 through 16.

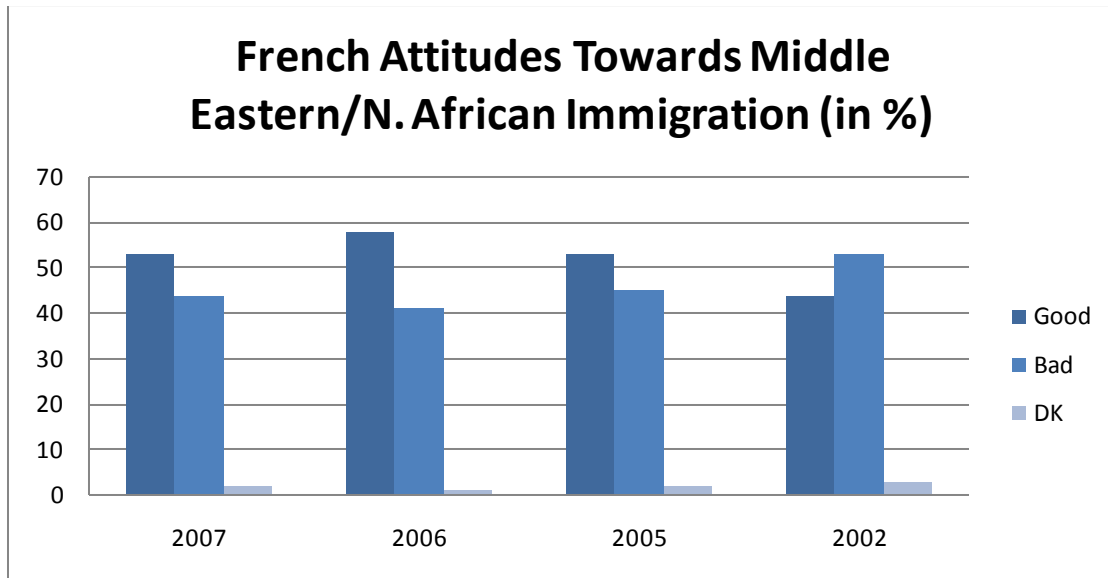
Figure 13 – Canadian responses in percentage to views on immigration from Latin America.



Source: Pew, 2007, 29.

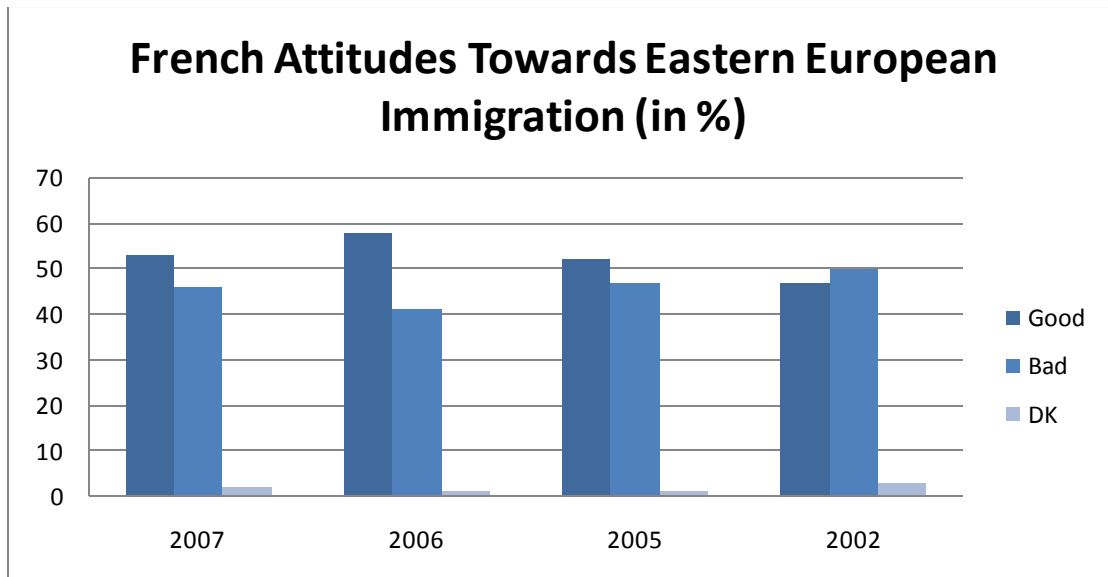
Prominent groups of immigrants in France originate from the Middle East and North Africa, as well as from Eastern Europe. A gauge of perceptions of these groups can provide some context to French attitudes on this issue. Figure 14 presents findings on attitudes towards Middle Eastern and North African immigrants in a sequential format from 2002 through 2005, 2006 and 2007. What we can see is that, although there has been a steady trend toward improvement over this time period, the levels of positive perceptions of these groups are still quite low in a comparative context. In the earlier stages of the study (where anti-immigrant attitudes were generally quite high in France), we can see that over 50% of those surveyed felt negatively towards immigrants from these regions. As the study progresses, we see positive attitudes stretching over the 50% mark, but only slightly by 2007 (Pew, 2007, 28). Figure 15 presents an image of public views towards Eastern European immigrants over the same series of increments. We can see a similar trend, where negative responses are higher in the earlier stages of the study, and then recede later. Although the comparison presents different ethnic groups for comparison in the two national contexts, public attitudes towards these more prominent immigrant groups are more favourable in the Canadian versus the French context.

Figure 14 – French responses in percentage to views on immigration from Middle East/ North Africa – 2007, 2006, 2005, 2002.



Source: Pew, 2007, 28.

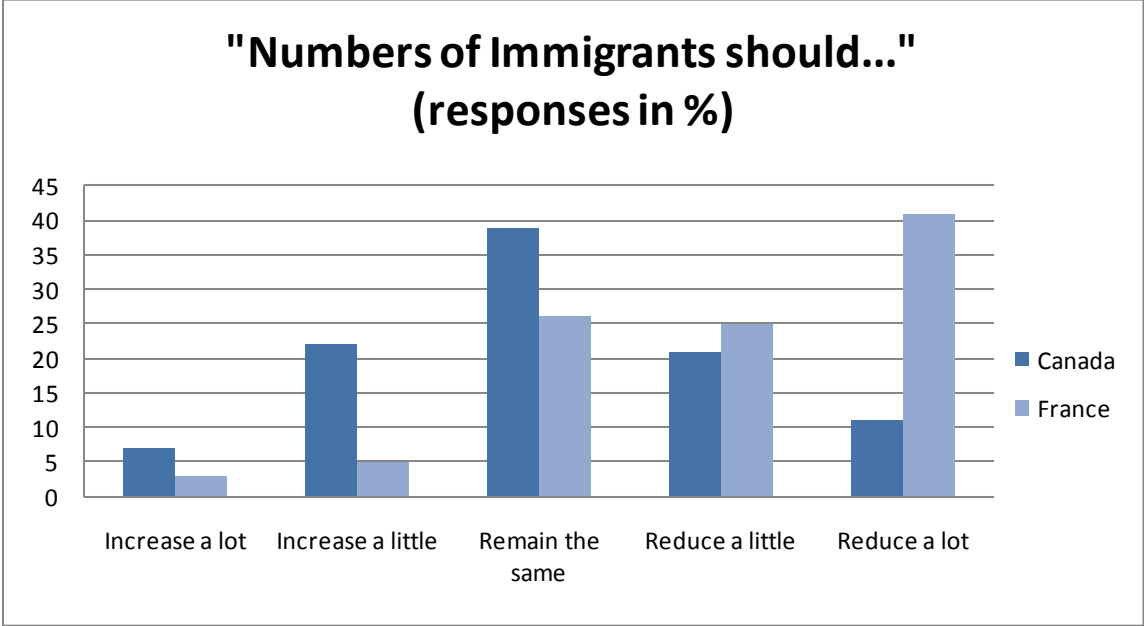
Figure 15 – French responses in percentage to views on immigration from Eastern Europe – 2007, 2006, 2005, 2002.



Source: Pew, 2007, 28.

Rita J. Simon and Keri W. Sikich (2007) have undertaken a pair of studies attempting to profile public attitudes toward immigrants and immigration policies in seven nations. The study was first conducted in 1995, with a follow-up study being undertaken in 2003 with Canada and France being among the countries studied (although France was omitted from the earlier stage of the study in 1995). An examination of the results for the 2003 leg of the study will provide further depth in attempting to understand the dimensions of public opinions towards immigration in France and Canada. Figure 16 presents the French and Canadian responses to the question of whether numbers of immigrants should be increased, decreased, or stay the same. As we can see, an overwhelming number of respondents in the French context felt that numbers of immigrants should be reduced a lot, with the ‘reduce a little’ and ‘remain the same’ categories making up over 90% of responses. In the case of Canada, the dominant attitudes were focused in the centre three categories with the ‘remain the same’ response receiving the highest share of votes. Something of note is that 27% of respondents felt that immigration should be increased (either a little or a lot) in the Canadian case, whereas only 8% fell into this category in the French context (Simon and Sikich, 2007, 957).

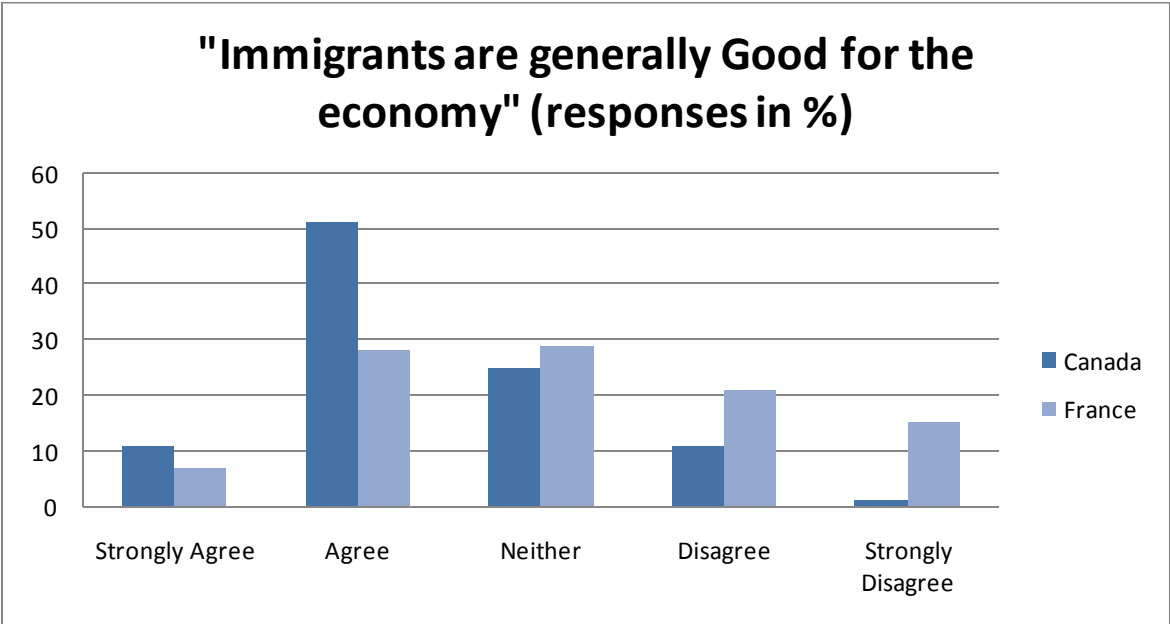
Figure 16 – Responses in percentage to question “Numbers of Immigrants should...” – France and Canada.



Source: Simon and Sikich, 2007, 957.

A second question posed by the study sought to profile public attitudes towards immigrants' effect on the economy of the nation. Figure 17 profiles a different distribution in the Canadian versus the French context. The highest number of respondents in the Canadian case (close to 50%) felt that immigrants have a good effect on the economy, with those disagreeing making up 12% of respondents. In the French case, although we see a more even distribution to this question compared with the last (with the highest percentage of respondents opting for a neutral response), 36% of respondents felt either mildly or strongly in disagreement with this statement. This presents another contrast in Canadian versus French views once again, with Canadians positive overall (Simon and Sikich, 2007, 958).

Figure 17 – Responses in percentage to question “Immigrants are generally good for the economy” – France and Canada.

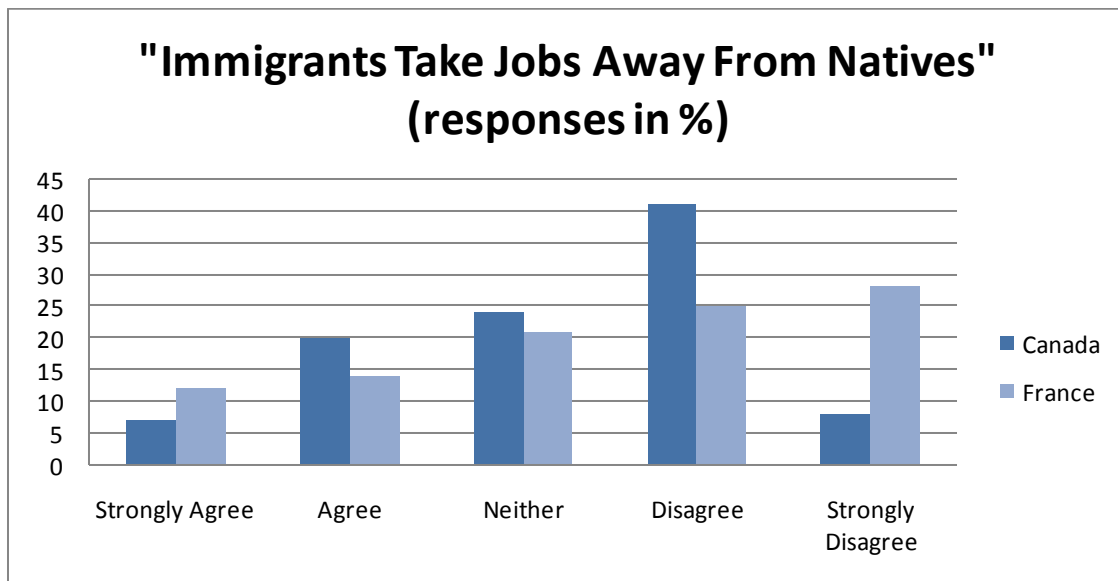


Source: Simon and Sikich, 2007, 958.

A third question posed by this survey, addresses the issue of whether immigrants take jobs away from domestically born citizens of the country in question. This question provides less of a stark contrast than the previous two with respect to divisions in France and Canada. As can be seen in Figure 18, the highest number of respondents in Canada disagreed with this statement (at 41%).

In the French case, the highest number of respondents strongly disagreed with this statement (at 28%). We can observe increased similarities in observing these responses, as 27% of Canadians agreed (either strongly or mildly) with the statement, versus 26% on the French side, and 49% disagreed in Canada versus 53% disagreed in France. Although the proportions of strong responses differ in each case, there is a higher level of consensus on this issue versus the other two offered (Simon and Sikich, 2007, 959).

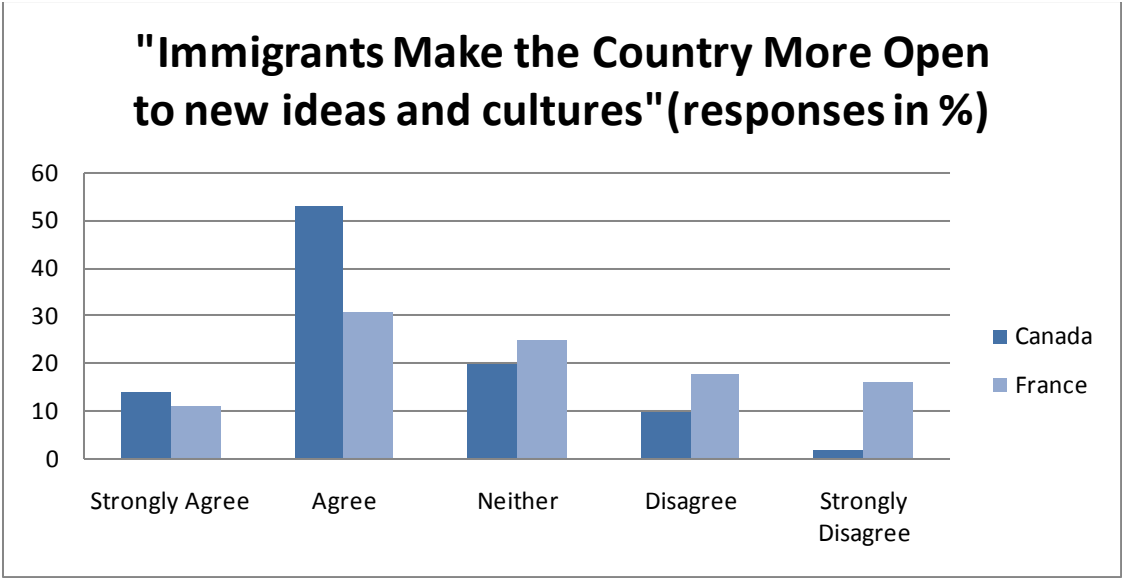
Figure 18 – Responses in percentage to question “Immigrants take away jobs from natives” – France and Canada.



Source: Simon and Sikich, 2007, 959.

The final question dealt with in the survey which is relevant to the discussion deals with whether immigrants improve the country in question by bringing new ideas and cultures. Figure 19 depicts a case where an overwhelming number of Canadian respondents agreed with this statement (as 67% either agreed or strongly agreed and only 12% disagreed). In France, although the opinions weren't decidedly negative, 42% agreed with the statement while 34% disagreed (either strongly or not) (Simon and Sikich, 2007, 961).

Figure 19 – Responses in percentage to question “Immigrants make the country more open to new ideas and cultures” – France and Canada.



Source: Simon and Sikich, 2007, 961.

In summary, this outline of public attitudes towards immigration in Canada and France reveals a number of key differences with respect to views in these two countries. While there is a variation in the disparities between Canadian and French responses on the variety of issues examined, the general theme presented by the data suggests a populace in Canada which holds a much more favourable view towards immigration and immigrants than their French counterparts. When considering public opinion data, it is important to hold the limitations of this type of data source in mind. Questions about sample sizes, how representative the responses are, and tabulation methods (among other questions) must be considered. There has been an attempt to minimize these limitations by providing only highly reputable studies from respected and rigorous sources. Still, these limitations must be held as a constant.

7. Discussion

This study has sought to offer depth and context to the MIPEX evaluation of France and Canada in a comparative context. It has focussed primarily on economic elements of the comparison, along with an evaluation of public attitudes in the two nations. It is now important to evaluate where the findings of this study fall in comparison to the observations presented in the MIPEX study.

First of all, in the area of labour market integration, findings are fairly harmonious with the MIPEX evaluation of related elements. In examining the issue of labour market access, the MIPEX places Canada in the fifth position with 80 points, while it rates France to be in the sixteenth position with 50 points (Niessen et al, 2007, 8). This amounts to a 30 point gap between the performances of the two nations on this indicator. As an extension of this examination, this study evaluated economic indicators of labour market integration in the two countries. The evidence suggests that the evaluation of the MIPEX in relation to labour market access is congruous with this study's findings on labour market integration in the two countries. This study found a wide disparity, on the whole, in figures on the performance of immigrants in the national context of France and Canada, with Canadian immigrants outperforming French immigrants by a fairly wide margin in the majority of indicators.

The next area of focus for this study dealt with labour market discrimination. The MIPEX evaluated the performance of France and Canada in terms of Anti-Discrimination policy, and found the performance of the two nations to be fairly comparable. The MIPEX rated Canada in third place with 85 points, and France closely behind in fifth place with 81 points (Niessen et al, 2007, 18). This study sought to go beyond the policy element to examine how discrimination manifests itself in the French and Canadian labour market in terms of hiring practices. On this point, there was a slight divergence from the MIPEX study. While there are some challenges to presenting the two studies examined on a level playing field, the general conclusions of each study presented a wider margin of disparity between the levels of discrimination in hiring practices than the overall policy evaluation would suggest in the MIPEX rating system. While the conclusions of this study did uphold the general finding of the MIPEX in terms of rating discriminatory elements to be more favourable in Canada, the evidence suggests that the margin

of discrimination is potentially wider than the 4 point difference presented in the policy evaluation. In addition, the study which sought to profile immigrant views in the two countries with respect to discrimination underlined the relationship observed, where Canada was presented more favourably than France in this context.

The final area of examination in this study dealt with public attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. In this area, the study sought to extend the scope of the MIPEX framework by presenting the public perceptions offered in the Index on a comparative basis. In presenting the public attitudes on a comparative basis, this study found attitudes to be more favourable in the Canadian context. Although the margin of divergence varied depending on the attitude examined, the general theme of more favourable attitudes towards immigration and immigrants was presented in the Canadian context.

8. Conclusion

Immigration and integration issues are among the most hotly debated and pertinent issues facing economies and governments of today. The manner in which immigrants are able to integrate has a large effect on the success and failure of these economies and societies in our increasingly globalized and integrated international landscape. This study has sought to present a comparative framework to examine elements of the dynamics of immigration and integration in two national contexts. By understanding the differences that divide these two countries on this issue, there is a hope that a deepened understanding of immigration and integration issues can lead to a betterment of the lives of people across our world today.

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